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Suffrage Reform and the American Revolution in New Jersey

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IN 1774 an elderly resident of New Jersey would have been able to recollect very little change in the laws that governed the suffrage of the Province. Yet the Revolutionary troubles were about to bring reforms that would place New Jersey well in advance of most of her sister states when the time came to draw up independent constitutions.

The foundations of manhood suffrage in New Jersey were laid in the political practices of the colonial era; and the reforms built upon these foundations were brought into being through the pressure of Revolutionary circumstances upon domestic politics. In New Jersey we thus have an opportunity to study the formulation of the earlier principles of American representative government without special reference to the ideals, or the instincts, of the frontier.

For nearly half a century the electoral process had been guided by an Act for the Better Regulation of Elections passed in 1725[1]; in this period the one constant factor governing property quali-

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[1]Samuel Allinson, *Acts of New Jersey, 1702-1776* (Trenton, 1776), pp. 69-70.

fications for the suffrage was the requirement that voters be freeholders.[2] This restriction does not seem to have been very rigorously applied, for in the entire range of disputed elections, very few votes were challenged on grounds of inadequate property.[3] A movement away from democracy, dating from the settlements of 1644, has been noticed by one observer,[4] yet the franchise was liberal enough to permit non-freeholders to vote in the towns before the Revolution if they could fulfill the condition that they must be "inhabitants," a vague term which was declared in 1766 to mean "Freeholder, Tenant for years, or Householder and Resident in . . . Township or Precinct."[5] The right to vote at town meetings extended to householders throughout the Colony.[6] An early concession to Perth Amboy and Burlington, respectively the capitals of the Eastern and Western divisions of the Province, gave their householders the right to vote in provincial elections.[7] If high property qualifications maintained for admission to the Assembly were certainly a barrier against the populace,[8] the wide extent of this participation in local government exercised a profound influence on the course taken in framing the institutions of complete self-government when the time came.

A curious broadside, printed in March, 1772, in Salem County, tells us that candidates for office might have to take account of those who are frankly described as "lower class" people. The broadside is a spurious and satirical report of "the Weekly Meeting in G—N—H [Greenwich] to the Monthly Meeting in S—M [Salem]" of a political party; it purports to communicate "the wise schemes we have laid and the favourable reception they met with at the late election." These wise schemers relate that they

[2]R. P. McCormick, *The History of Voting in New Jersey, 1664-1911* (New Brunswick, 1953), pp. 60-61. Writs of summons to elections under George II and George III generally specified that electors were to be qualified by possession of a freehold and fifty pounds sterling in property. Misc. MSS. in Room 120, New Jersey State Library.

[3]B. H. Rich, "Election Machinery in New Jersey, 1702-1775," *Proceedings NJHS*, LXVII, 208.

[4]C. R. Erdman, *The New Jersey Constitution of 1776* (Princeton, 1929), p. 56, n. 81.

[5]Allinson, *Acts*, pp. 287-88; A. E. McKinley, *The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen American Colonies* (Phila., 1905), p. 257.

[6]Allinson *Acts*, pp. 287-88; McKinley, *Suffrage Franchise*, p. 257.

[7]*N.J. Archives*, 2nd Ser., II, 510. E. P. Tanner, *Province of New Jersey* (New York, 1907), p. 318.

[8]McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, p. 43; Allinson, *Acts*, pp. 306-07, for the same qualifications—a freehold and £500 personal estate, in 1768.

failed to get their friends into the Assembly on account of religious opposition, and so planned instead to divide their opponents by artifice.

The letter was in fact, of course, written by the enemies of the schemers, who are made to continue their report from the Greenwich meeting in the following terms:

> We proposed our friend J—n S—d, who has been in trade for many years past, and has many of the people of the county in debt. He has made himself very popular here of late by joining a number of the lower class of people to oppose the Magistrates (which we call the court party) has likewise made a sham [?] purchase of some building lots at the bridge that the people would think he would be in their interest, in erecting the fairs there (which they have very much at heart) he being sensible an election would soon come on.[9]

The meaning of the broadside, from our point of view, can fortunately be discerned without the need to elucidate the obscurities of local politics. The lower class of people who had been joined by the prosperous trader-candidate were clearly voters, or he would not have taken the trouble to make himself popular with them; the fact that the report is really written by his opponents does not detract from the force of this argument.

Between the end of the French and Indian Wars and the outbreak of the Revolution, acute political and economic tension developed in East Jersey. In the period of currency restriction that followed the end of the wars, many mortgages were foreclosed; the struggle between landed proprietors and their tenants, between creditors with the law on their side and small holding, impoverished debtors, increasingly assumed the aspect of a class war, and in 1770 erupted into riots that caused Governor Franklin to call a special session of the Assembly.[10] The franchise may have been broader than it looked on paper, but it

[9]Broadside in Rutgers University Library, dated "The 25th of the 3d Month, 1772." Some of the references remain obscure. The greater part of the county residents are described as Presbyterians, the mortal enemies of those to whom the document is attributed; the writers, in all probability, therefore actually were Presbyterians. The paper claims that the artifice in the selection of candidates gained two Baptist congregations and the Dutch. There is a strong inference from this and from the fact that Salem County lies in the southwest, that the other major religious group, the Quakers, are those being attacked; that is, that the document was written by Presbyterians pretending to be Quakers. Non-religious factors might invalidate this suggestion.

[10]Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution: the War for Independence in New Jersey* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 64-65.

was still limited to freeholders except in the two capitals, and it was still nominally limited to freeholders with fifty pounds *sterling* in real and personal estate,[11] which (if strictly applied) would take no account of the proclamation money which had been current since the reign of Queen Anne.[12] It is not at all surprising that the Revolution should have brought early demands for suffrage extension.

Local government in New Jersey was run by local people. The freeholders, at their annual meetings, appointed from amongst themselves a cluster of officials responsible for such matters as care of the poor, the assessment and collection of taxes and the maintenance of the highways.[13] The system of local administration and the habit of local responsibility, were to be of profound importance when the time came to set up a new government; for it was the existence of this administrative system that made it possible for the Provincial Congress to take over the powers of government from the governor and General Assembly, with the co-operation and obedience of the local authorities and without any serious administrative dislocation.

The Continental Congress, by the eleventh article of its Association in September, 1774, recommended the establishment throughout the colonies of local committees of observation and correspondence.[14] The Congress itself was the product of a movement which had been in the making since early in the year; and in February, 1774, the General Assembly of the province of New Jersey had resolved to establish a standing committee to collect information about the measures of the British Parliament, and to maintain a permanent correspondence with the sister colonies.[15] In the summer of the same year, the freeholders and inhabitants

[11]An act of 1709 substituted "current money" for "sterling," and there was much subsequent variation (McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, p. 43 and pp. 60-61); but election writs seem to have followed the sterling formula. Misc. MSS., Room 120, New Jersey State Library.

[12]Curtis Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720* (Madison, 1934); W. M. Gouge, *Short History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States* (N.Y., 1835), p. 6.

[13]Votes of Elections, NJSL.

[14]*Minutes of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey, 1774-1776* (Trenton, 1879), p. 34 (to be cited as *Minutes P.C.C.S.*); *Journals of the American Congress, 1774 to 1788* (Washington, 1823), I, 25.

[15]*Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 1-2.

of counties and townships began to place themselves in a position, not so much of defence, as of alertness and precaution. Meetings in both townships and counties expressed the determination of the freeholders to establish an association for the Province as a whole. Lower Freehold, in Monmouth County, held the first recorded township meeting, while Essex was the first county to declare itself.[16]

The representative character of this meeting and of the general movement was admitted by Governor Franklin in a letter to his home government. "Meetings of this nature," he wrote, "there are no means of preventing, when the chief parts of the inhabitants incline to attend them."[17] There seems to be no difficulty in accepting the view that the provincial gathering of July, 1774, to which this movement led, was at least as representative of the people of the Province as were the General Assemblies.[18] The article of the Congressional Association recommending the appointment of a committee "in every County, City and Town," said specifically that this should be done "by those qualified to vote for Representatives in the Legislature . . ."[19]

These township and county committees formed the basis of the government by Provincial Congress that developed in the next year. To understand the character of that government we must ask by whom the local committees were elected.

The Essex meeting of which Governor Franklin spoke "was occasioned by an advertisement, requesting the attendance of the inhabitants . . . and published in one of the New York papers, signed by two gentlemen of the law, who reside in that county."

The call was not directed only to qualified electors, but to "All the inhabitants of the County of Essex, in New Jersey, friends to the Constitution, the liberties and properties of America." It was hoped, from the importance of the subject, that the

[16]*Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 4-8. The Essex meeting, held on June 11th, declared its approval of a congress of deputies to form a general plan of union. It was ready to send a committee to meet committees of other counties to elect persons to represent the Province. William Livingston and Elias Boudinot, among others, were put on the committee.

[17]Franklin to Dartmouth, June 18th, 1774, *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 8-9.

[18]Erdman, *Constitution of 1776*, makes this point in answer to the statement of Charles and Mary Beard that the meetings were unrepresentative of the counties, p. 10, n. 50. He gives the date of the letter as June 28th.

[19]*Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 34-35.

meeting would be general. The call was signed by order of a meeting of a number of the freeholders of the county of Essex.[20] Most of the reports refer to meetings of the freeholders and inhabitants. A call issued in Burlington County in January, 1775, was addressed "To the Freeholders, Electors for the County of Burlington," and those qualified to vote for members of the Assembly are mentioned in the text; the hope was again expressed that the importance of the cause would induce people in general to give their attendance.[21] Somerset County's freeholders chose a new committee of correspondence in July, 1775, on the expiration of the term of the old one.[22]

It is clear that these calls to action primarily concerned the freeholders and voters for the Assembly; but it should be remembered that inhabitants, meaning householders, tenants or merely "residents," were already voting on township matters in their own neighborhoods, and it seems highly probable that the local meetings, some of which from the beginning invited the attendance of inhabitants or people in general, came to admit of wider participation in the course of a year of increasing tension and need to rally the support of all patriotic Americans.

These committees formed the basis of both the authority and the membership of the Provincial Congress. Meeting in May, 1775, the New Jersey Congress soon made the first moves towards assuming the powers of government. To meet the military emergency a militia had to be raised, and money had to be procured from the counties for defence. Each township or corporation was recommended to form one or more companies; officers up to the rank of captain were to be elected by their companies, while company officers would appoint non-commissioned officers. Regimental officers would be appointed in meetings of company officers.[23]

[20] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, p. 6. The call is printed in the *Minutes* without reference to its original mode of publication, but is presumably the same one as that mentioned by Franklin. The two gentlemen of the law, John De Hart and Isaac Ogden, were both subsequently elected to the county committee. It is notable that these preliminary steps did not imply revolutionary intentions: De Hart later resigned from the Continental Congress, to which he was a New Jersey delegate, apparently out of dislike for its radical course. D. L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom: the Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776* (Princeton, 1940), p. 336; *NJA*, 1st Ser., X, 680.

[21] *NJA*, 1st Ser., XXXI, 24-25.

[22] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 162-63.

[23] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 179-83.

Two points are notable in these proceedings. One is the indispensable co-operation of the township committees, whose task it was to acquaint themselves with the number of male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and fifty and to form them into companies of eighty each. These committees were working for a government of their own, not for an alien authority, and as this government effectively superseded the royal authority it is important never to lose sight of its co-operative machinery and its representative, if limited, basis. The other characteristic of these events, a product of the same state of affairs, is the provision for the election of officers. This method was not adopted in European countries until after the French Revolution, when it is found, for example, in the Prussian Landwehr. It is characteristic of militia or citizen armies and is profoundly antipathetic to the professional soldier's cast of mind.

Governor Franklin failed in a series of skilful attempts to set the Assembly against the Congress, whose members included about two-fifths of the assemblymen. The Congress, adjourning on June 3rd, re-convened on August 5th, and from that time became the effective government of the province.[24]

The Assembly was losing control. Meanwhile the Provincial Congress developed its own administration, and in October it ordered the issue of bills of credit and the raising of ten thousand pounds for the year. The counties were to be taxed by quota.[25]

The Congress exercised the parliamentary function of determining the credentials of its members and enquiring into disputed elections. The *Minutes,* our only source for the proceedings of the Congress, unfortunately do not record the precise nature of the complaints in the batch of petitions challenging the results of elections held under the second Congress, between October, 1775, and June, 1776. These complaints challenged not

[24]Erdman, *Constitution of 1776,* gives a clear narrative of these events, pp. 1-24.

[25]*Minutes P.C.C.S.,* p. 252. The quotas of taxation indicate the relative wealth of the counties. Here is the table employed:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Bergen	664	8	0	Hunterdon	1363	16	8
Essex	742	18	0	Cape May	166	18	0
Middlesex	872	6	8	Burlington	1071	13	4
Somerset	904	2	0	Gloucester	763	2	8
Monmouth	1069	2	8	Salem	679	12	0
Morris	723	8	0	Cumberland	385	6	8
Sussex	593	5	4				

only elections to the Congress but also to local committees—which reminds us of the very great importance of the committees in the life of the Province. In none of the four hearings conducted before the Congress rose in June, was the verdict overturned.[26]

The need for continuity in government was recognized. A Council of Safety had been appointed to be ready to handle urgent matters during recesses of the Congress,[27] and now the Congress determined that during the continuance of the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and America, there should be a new choice of deputies every year, in September. On the same day each year the inhabitants "qualified to vote" were to elect their committees of observation and correspondence, with full powers to direct the necessary business of the county, and to execute the resolutions and orders of the Continental and Provincial Congresses.[28]

The Congress which sat during the summer of 1775 terminated its proceedings with resolutions passed on August 12th, 1775, calling for elections to a new Congress. These resolutions dealt bluntly with the crisis. The horrors of civil war were likely and the tax burden would increase.

> The inhabitants [of this Colony] should have frequent opportunities of renewing their choice and approbation of the Representatives in Provincial Congress—It is therefore resolved, that the inhabitants in each County qualified to vote for Representatives in General Assembly, do meet together at the places hereinafter mentioned, on Thursday the twenty-first day of September next, and then and there by plurality of voices, elect and appoint any number not exceeding five substantial freeholders as Deputies, with full power to represent such County in Provincial Congress to be held at Trenton . . . on . . . the third day of October next.

There followed a list of the places at which elections were to be held—in every case save that of Hunterdon, in the county courthouse. The house of John Ringo, presumably a tavern, would provide for the Hunterdon poll.

The inhabitants thus authorized to elect deputies to the Congress were identified with those qualified to elect county and township committees. Unfortunately we do not possess the poll

[26] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 205-07, 211-14, 391, 452, 453, 463.
[27] On August 17th, 1775, with eleven members. *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 193-94.
[28] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 186-87.

lists or other records that might tell us how many people availed themselves of the suffrage; but the local committees of the summer of 1774, like the provincial meeting of July, 1774,[29] had been elected in various ways—by regular procedure of the freeholders, or at town meetings. The resolutions of August 12th, for new elections, seem to have taken notice of the laxity of former methods; and it is distinctly stated that the electors of the local committees are to be those "qualified as aforesaid"—qualified, that is, to elect deputies to the Provincial Congress. Up till now, the "inhabitants," already entitled to vote in township elections, had helped to elect members of the local committees; but the voters for the Provincial Congress had been defined as those qualified to vote for the Assembly. This new provision, if it had any effect, would have tended to restrict the suffrage by excluding township voters from the franchise for township or county committees.

While it is doubtful whether the distinction was more than verbal tidiness, the possibility remains that it was enforced more literally, and produced more dismay, in some places than in others. An effective act of general suffrage restriction, however, would undoubtedly have produced floods of protest, and the petitions for suffrage reform reaching the Congress only two months later contained no reference to such a restriction, which would, indeed, have been most extraordinary tactics at this juncture of the crisis.

Six months later there is positive evidence, on the other hand, that one county, Middlesex, contained voters among the poor, who had exercised their suffrage in the elections for the Provincial Congress then sitting.

A letter from the constituents of the "Southward [i.e., South Ward] of New Brunswick" informed the Middlesex and other delegates that they had been chosen by the signers, and proferred advice in favor of taxation in the interests of the debtors. The writers requested that money at interest being clear estate be taxed, and proposed a scale that would

> Prove a Great Easement to the Lower Class of men on whom the Burthen will fall the heaviest; many of whom to keep their familyes in Imploy has borrowed money to buy Lands and now pays tax for their Lands and In-

[29] And according to Erdman, *Constitution of 1776*, pp. 14-15, like the Provincial Congress of 1775 also, though he cites no *new* evidence for that Congress and merely refers back to the evidence on 1774.

terest for the Money while the man of Estate Goes free and whereas there is Large Sumes of money Due from the Inhabitants of this province to Gentlemen in New York Colony and pensylvania we think it within the Verge of your power to order the same Deduction as if the Credditor Lived in this province.[30]

The signers of the letter, having bought lands, were strictly landowners, but they were owners heavily encumbered by debt and would, in point of law, have failed to meet the provision of the constitution adopted later that year that voters must be worth fifty pounds clear estate, fifty pounds free of debt. They freely identified themselves with "the lower orders," and resented the privileges of the creditor class. By telling the delegates that they had chosen them, the signers identified themselves as voters to whom the delegates were responsible. The objection that they might have been non-voters posing as voters can be dismissed, for the fifty-nine signatures must have included a number that were known to the local delegates.

The mere failure of the Congress to take a more forthright stand in favor of suffrage extension in its election resolutions caused sharp disappointment and seems in one instance to have been regarded as a positive reactionary step. The Freemen of Salem County, in a remonstrance that seems to have been received on February 9th,[31] declared that they had taken up arms

at an early stage of the present glorious struggle, devoting both our time and our property to the Acquirement of Military Knowledge when called on to contribute both by pecuniary and personal service. Convincd of the Justice and importance of the Cause we cheerfully obeyed the summons—But how great the disappointment when we found that whilst we were spending our time and Money with a view to repelling the invaders of our Liberties we were deprived of the privileges we contended for by an Act of the late provincial Congress consisting of the very men we had intrusted as the Guardians of our Rights—Born to the same privileges with the rest of mankind we have a right to the free Exercise of them until divested thereof by some Act of our own . . . Was the sole design of Government either the security of Land, or Money, the possession of either or both these would be the only qualification for its members—but we apprehend the benign intentions of a well regulated Government extend to the security of much more valuable possessions—The Right and privileges of Freemen for the defence of which every kind of property and even Life itself have been Liberally expended.

[30]Provincial Congress papers, no. 78, February 9, 1776. NJHS.
[31]*Minutes P.C.C.S.*, p. 358.

The present measures were "an usurpation." The remonstrance closed with a bitter attack on the conduct of war without the moral sanction derived from defending the rights of the people.[32]

Unfortunately the remonstrants, in their indignation, omitted to give either the date of the petition or the precise cause of their grievance. Certain aspects of this document remain difficult to elucidate. Two petitions from Salem County are recorded in the *Minutes* as having been received by the Congress, in February and in August, 1776; the only date compatible with the reference to "the late Provincial Congress" would be February 9th. But what act of that Congress had deprived freemen of the rights they contended for? A possibility has been noticed that the election resolutions of August, 1775,[33] may have had a limiting effect on the suffrage, but the numerous petitions for suffrage reform that were soon to reach the Congress from East Jersey made no reference to such a restriction, as they would surely have done if it had been a matter of recent experience. The objection in these resolutions was, not so much that they denied existing privileges, but that in setting the same suffrage qualifications as had prevailed for Assembly elections, and in requiring that members elected must be "substantial freeholders," the Congress had failed to break decisively with the colonial past. In this latter point, however, the absence from the August resolutions of any definite designation of the *amount* of property to be possessed by freeholders standing for election, did represent a breach in traditional restrictions, and one that, significantly enough, the Provincial Congress repaired when a new constitution was framed in 1776.[34] The delay of six months between the action of the previous Provincial Congress and the receipt of this particularly vigorous protest is difficult to understand; the remonstrants presumably sent up their objections only when they heard that the

[32]Misc. MSS., Box 16, Room 120, NJSL.

[33]See pp. 180-81 below; *Minutes*, pp. 185-87.

[34]Below, p. 193. McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, pp. 43-45, 68.

[35]Dr. McCormick quotes from this document on p. 67 as evidence of the demand for suffrage reform. In note 12, p. 67, he gives the date in round brackets as Feb., 1776, but the MS. itself is undated. He cites the *Minutes*, p. 358 (Feb. 9th). He quotes the statement: "We cannot conceive the wise Author of our Existence ever designed that a certain quantity of Earth on which we tread shou'd be annexed to Man to compleat his dignity and fit him for society," a passage which strengthens the case for regarding the whole piece as primarily a protest against the land tenure qualification, but does not demonstrate that reform of the suffrage qualifications was its only purpose.

discussion of the subject was about to reach a critical stage. Though the full explanation may lie buried in the local politics of Salem County, some interferences can safely be drawn.[35] The remonstrants were voters—they had entrusted the members of the Congress as the guardians of their rights. They were freemen and had given money to the cause; they objected to being excluded from the government—meaning, in contemporary terms, the whole political system, not necessarily the administration alone—for want of the ownership of land or money, bearing in mind that the duties of government extended to the protection of the rights and privileges of freemen. The remonstrance, then, is an attack on property qualifications for participation in the government—for the suffrage franchise, but also, quite possibly, for membership of the Congress. The prime target of the attack was the requirement of land tenure as a qualification. The petitioners refrained from calling themselves "freeholders," as they would surely have done if they had been able to claim that title;[36] they were "Freemen" of their county. In the question of the landed property qualification, it was precisely the distinction between the freemen and the freeholders that was at issue.

The Congress that received these petitions had been elected, in September, 1775, under suffrage rules that gave dissatisfaction not only among the landless but among taxpayers. Six days before the opening date of the new Congress, a letter in the *New York Journal,* addressed to the people of New Jersey, stated the case for a reform that would bring American domestic practice into line with American propaganda. The letter bears so directly on the subject as to deserve full quotation.

To the Public. No. III.

Dear Countrymen: In a day of public calamity like this, arising from oppression, every benevolent mind ought to be engaged for the defence of the rights of mankind, and in particular should endeavour to remove all cause of oppression, complaint and disunion among ourselves. And to stop, as much as possible, the mouths of our adversaries (who will omit the use of no plausible argument against the justice of our cause and the probability of its success,) such is the design of this letter. The Hon. Continental Congress, and the late Provincial Congress of the Province [i.e.,

[36]Many petitions came from "Freeholders" or "Freeholders and others"; the AM papers, NJSL, and the *Minutes,* are thick with examples.

the one that dissolved in August, 1775] have adopted the old mode of electing Representatives, who have power to tax those Colonies from whom they are chosen. By this mode, many true friends of their country, who are obliged to pay taxes, are excluded from the privilege of a vote in the choice of those by whom they are taxed, or even called out to sacrifice their lives. This is a real grievance; yet one that may easily be redressed, for many of the members of the Present Provincial Congress begin to give serious attention to the complaints of the people on this account, and all our Congresses know that one part of his Majesty's subjects have no right to tax another part of their fellow-subjects without their consent, given by themselves or their representatives. Nothing is therefore necessary in order to obtain a redress but a number of petitions from several towns and counties for that purpose. They will undoubtedly resolve that no-one shall be taxed, who is excluded from a vote in their elections, and will also resolve who shall for the future be esteemed proper electors. And by such resolve our enemies will be cut off from one of their most plausible arguments against us.

I am, My Countrymen,
Yours,

ESSEX

Morris County, New-Jersey, Sept. 26, 1775.[37]

This letter, it will be noticed, does nothing to suggest that the election resolutions of August, 1775, might have curtailed the suffrage, but it does express disappointment that the Congress should have adopted "the old mode of electing Representatives," the mode in use under the royal government. There is a clear call to make American practice conform with public American doctrine. Neither this letter nor the subsequent petitions throw direct light on the problems of the Salem remonstrance, though they perhaps add some weight to the suggestion that the bitter language of that protest, like the more persuasive tone of the "Essex" letter, is directed against the adoption of the "old mode" of representation, when such an opportunity existed for reform.

Nearly twenty petitions answered the call of "Essex," probably outnumbering petitions demanding any other one piece of legislation. Most of them demanded the vote for householders, or for taxpayers, while five mentioned either householding or tax-paying as alternative qualifications. Two requested the use of the ballot in elections; petitions from Essex County, and one from

[37] *NJA*, 1st Ser., XXXI, 200. From the *New York Journal*, Sept. 28, 1775.

Morris, linked a demand for the taxation of money put out at interest with the extension of the suffrage to taxpayers. There was conflict in Somerset, where the county committee, with John Witherspoon as its chairman, favored giving the vote to taxpayers and householders, while two counter-petitions opposed giving the vote to any others than freeholders; a petition from Monmouth objected to a decision at the present session. No county of West Jersey was represented in this movement; the great majority came from the wealthy county of Hunterdon, from populous Essex and from Sussex, all eastern.[38]

The pressure for suffrage reform that came from East Jersey, which had experienced so much serious social unrest in recent years, was supported in the Congress on October 25th by the delegates of Salem (West Jersey), who moved for a dissolution at the end of the current session and a new election upon more extensive principles. The question was postponed to the next sitting by a vote of seven to six, Essex for some reason voting for the delay.[39] When the motion came up for consideration again, on February 16th, 1776, it was given a wording that later produced unintended results. The question was put, "Whether every person of full age, who hath immediately preceding the elections, resided one whole year in any County of this Colony, and is worth at least fifty pounds in real and personal estate, shall be permitted to vote in the County wherein he resides, for Representatives in Provincial Congress, or not?"[40] This suffrage basis, when adopted in the new constitution, in July, provided a loophole which, from about 1790 until 1807, enabled women and Negroes to vote, and assumed an unexpected place in local political controversy.[41]

The new election ordinance, passed after four days of debate and amendment, extended the suffrage to all persons of full age, satisfying the year's residence requirement, and worth fifty pounds

[38] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 202, 207, 220-21, 228, 231, 340, 346, 355, 365, 372. V. Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon* (Princeton, 1924), p. 182.

[39] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, p. 231.

[40] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 373-74.

[41] R. E. Turner, "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807" (Smith College *Studies in History*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1916), pp. 165-87; Marion J. Wright, "Negro Suffrage in New Jersey," *Journal of Negro History*, April, 1948, pp. 168-224; J. R. Pole, "Suffrage in New Jersey 1790-1807," *Proc. NJHS*, Jan., 1953, pp. 60-61.

proclamation money in personal estate, having signed the Association.[42]

This ordinance, which became in effect the first independent election law of New Jersey, was the most important act of the Provincial Congress preceding the new constitution. In dropping the freehold tenure clause, the Congress withdrew the lynch-pin from the structure of property qualifications. The delay from October to February, the four days of debate, and the opposition of four counties in the final vote,[43] all show that the delegates had a sense of the gravity of their action.

It is sad that we have no record of the debate on this intensely interesting problem.[44] Yet the political circumstances of the Congress show compelling reasons for its decision. These reasons will appear from a consideration of the nature of the Congress' authority in the uncertain state of the Province. Both the traditional social leadership, and the official colonial government, were deeply divided by the conflict with the Crown. Of the ten active members of the governor's Council, four pursued a doubtful neutrality while three supported the governor; the Assembly was no less conservative, perhaps more so. At the end of November, 1775, when it was proposed in the Assembly that the governor be asked for a dissolution, the vote was twelve—twelve, with the speaker, Cortland Skinner, a Tory, giving his casting vote in the negative because he knew that a new election would produce a more radical Assembly.[45] The Assembly, in the same month, resolved, in reply to a petition, "That reports of Independency, in the apprehension of this House, are groundless." The delegates to the Continental Congress were urged to use their utmost endeavors for a redress of American grievances, and for restoring the union between the colonies and Great Britain upon constitutional principles; but they were directed to reject utterly any propositions

[42] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 407-10.

[43] The opposition consisted of Bergen, soon to reveal itself as infested with Toryism, Somerset, which has been seen to be divided, Monmouth, which sent up a petition for delay, and Cape May, traditionally conservative. See pp. 188 below, 186 above; McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, p. 68.

[44] Personal papers of the members seem too fragmentary to be of any help. The William Paterson papers in the Rutgers University Library and the AM papers in NJSL give no help. There is no official record.

[45] Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom*, p. 337, n. 39.

"that may separate this Colony from the Mother Country, or change the form of Government thereof."[46] Meanwhile the fears of some of the wealthier people about the consequences of social convulsion were openly expressed by the Council, in seeking to persuade Governor Franklin of the sincerity of its assurances to him. The members described themselves as "Persons who have too much at stake not to dread the consequences of a total subversion of government, order, and authority, who, while they lament the public disorders of the present times, are anxiously studious to lessen their effects on the inhabitants of this province . . ."[47] These Tory sympathies soon became still more explicit. The Province was beset with dissension, and numbers went over to the enemy early in the war.[48] Some of the members of the wealthy East Jersey Board of Proprietors went into retreat in New York, thus easing the immediate grievances of the debtors[49] and at the same time creating a breach in the political leadership of the community.

The principal Whigs in the meantime retained the leadership in their own communities by placing themselves at the head of the opposition to parliamentary measures.[50] Experience teaches us that even seemingly urgent reforms may be delayed rather than hastened in war-time until the emergency is over; but the members of the Provincial Congress, pressed for suffrage extension by the lower ranks, were in no position to bargain with the mass of their own supporters. The reasons for the reform of the suffrage, whose justice might not alone have been enough, were rendered more cogent by the pressure of events.

The Provincial Congress had come into existence through the action of the county and township freeholders, but not only of the freeholders but also resident householders and tenants for years, who, in the case of town-dwellers, were all enfranchised under the title of inhabitants. The Congress had no administra-

[46] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 292-93, 300.

[47] *NJA*, 1st Ser., XXXI, 227.

[48] Minutes of the Governor's Privy Council (MSS), NJSL, Vol. I, p. 7, reports in Aug. 1777, that Bergen County is almost wholly disaffected and has refused to do any military duty for above a year. "Numbers have gone over to the enemy, and now serve in what they call the New Levies, or New Jersey Volunteers . . . "

[49] Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution*, p. 257.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

tive machinery of its own, no military force other than the militia raised by its own orders, and no funds other than its own assessments.

The coercive power of government may exact a temporary obedience, but no government can long survive, especially in times of divided loyalty, without the moral leadership which makes its agents willing to work for it and the community ready to accept its rule. Without a firm foundation of popular support in the counties and townships that elected the Congress, supplied the taxes and raised the militia, the government would have neither coercive power nor moral leadership. The extension of the suffrage to non-freeholders in New Jersey arose from the political logic of the revolutionary crisis.

The suffrage provisions of the Ordinance of February, 1776, were in force at the time of the election of the next Provincial Congress, and were substantially adopted by that Congress as part of the constitution of the independent state.[51]

There is no exact way of determining what proportion of the population was enfranchised by the new suffrage qualifications, but a good deal can be inferred.[52] Statistics of population are scanty, while polls, with rare exceptions, are not recorded. The vital step of removing the freehold tenure clause, however, makes the value of fifty pounds proclamation money the central problem.[53]

[51] *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 552-58.

[52] The effects of the removal of the qualification of freehold tenure are not a matter of agreement among scholars. Lundin, *Cockpit*, p. 258, considers that "The Constitution of 1776 made no drastic alteration in the franchise." Erdman (*Constitution of 1776*, p. 56), feeling that the undemocratic qualifications require a note of explanation, says: "It was a common requirement of the early State constitutions that the voter should show some evidence that he possessed a financial interest in the community . . . The new constitution was thus no more democratic than the government of the Royal Province." E. A. Fuhlbruegge, in a discussion of New Jersey finances, states that the agitation for the right to vote for all who paid taxes failed, though the constitution of 1776 popularized the suffrage slightly. ("New Jersey Finances during the American Revolution," *Proc. NJHS*, July, 1937, p. 175.) R. P. McCormick, in still more recent studies, puts the matter very differently: "The practical effect of the change was unquestionably a great increase in the number of eligible voters." (*Experiment in Independence: New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781-1789* [New Brunswick, 1951], pp. 80-81; and similarly in *Voting in New Jersey*, pp. 70-71.)

[53] L. Q. C. Elmer, *The Constitution and Government of . . . New Jersey* (Newark, 1872), a reliable source, states (p. 25) in this connection that fifty pounds proclamation were worth $133 when the suffrage qualifications were changed. This is confirmed by

The greater part of New Jersey's approximately 150,000 inhabitants[54] made their living in connection with the land. There were iron foundries owned by wealthy masters in the northwest, merchants in towns in the eastern division, especially Perth Amboy, and the variety of occupations to be expected in any town or village community. But abstracts of wills show that the word "yeoman" was the most popular description of the occupation, and status, of those who died testate.

Yeomen differed widely in their possessions; of those claiming this title, a few evidently worked some diminutive allotment and were able to leave an estate which barely reached the voting qualification; and the slightly more prosperous-sounding name "farmer" does not always seem to stand for wealth. Inventories show a substantial proportion of estates reckoned between fifty pounds and two hundred pounds. The study of wills is limited to those who died testate. It was not common for an inventory of estate to register more than three or four hundred pounds. Though the number of those described as artisans is much smaller than of yeomen or farmers, a few of them ranked with the average yeoman in modest wealth. The village blacksmith, a carpenter, a weaver or a potter, of whom there would in any case be a smaller proportion in a community overwhelmingly devoted to agriculture, would have voted beside the farmers with a "stake in society" under the ordinance of February.[55]

The events of the war years and the early post-war period have great relevance to the question of the extent of the suffrage established in 1776. Currency depreciation was not an instrument advocated by promoters of democratic reform, yet it was startlingly

the fact that, in 1789, after the wartime inflation had subsided, one dollar was worth seven shillings and six pence in New Jersey, a value which corresponds precisely with that originally laid down for proclamation money in 1703. The steadiness of the currency outside periods of wartime inflation will be noticed. William M. Gouge, *Short History of Paper Money in the U.S.* (New York, 1835), gives the 1703 values, p. 6; Hamilton's *Report on the Public Credit*, appendix, gives those for 1789. Dr. Paul Trescott, of Princeton University Department of Economics, introduced me to this useful information.

[54]In 1784, the population was estimated, for purposes of taxation, at 138,934, plus 10,508 colored people. *New Jersey Guardian*, Dec. 6, 1784. See also, Greene and Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (N.Y., 1932), p. 113.

[55]*NJA*, 1st Ser., XXXIV (Abstracts of Wills), 339, 403, 431, 452, 589. It should be noted, in the interest of truth, that Thomas Pool, potter of New Brunswick, alluded to above, had died in 1775.

effective. It was well known and soon to be demonstrated again in the states that inflation could help debtors to pay their debts, but it is doubtful whether anyone realized that it might help citizens to cast their votes.

The history of the inflation during the Revolutionary War is familiar.[56] The effect was practically to annihilate the remaining property qualifications for the suffrage. This sweeping development should be carefully distinguished from the removal of the freehold tenure qualification in 1776. The inflation did not set in immediately, and in due course it subsided, so that it would be a mistake to lump the constitutional reform and the currency depreciation together; the one was the result of legislative debate, the other of economic forces far beyond legislative control. But it was precisely the removal of freehold tenure that made possible this political effect of the inflation.

Yet when the inflation had subsided to the point at which fifty pounds had regained its former value, the suffrage did not again become a political issue. There was no demand for the abolition of the remaining qualification. Neither in the legislative journals nor in the petitions preserved,[57] is there any indication of pressure on this subject. It is difficult to believe that any coherent political or economic group, left without the franchise in 1776, enfranchised by the inflation, and deprived again by the deflation, would have acquiesced in such a deprivation without a murmur of protest. Moreover, the legislature could have raised the property qualification had it so chosen; neither Provincial Congress nor state legislature felt itself restrained by the constitution in any matter not specifically excluded from future altera-

[56]See especially, A. Bezanson, *Prices and Inflation During the American Revolution* (Phila., 1951). The progress of inflation in New Jersey is well indicated in official records of salaries. Under the election law of June, 1777, the county clerk was ordered to be paid twelve shillings for his services at elections, and was liable to a fine of five pounds for neglect (*Laws,* 1 Sess., 2 Sit., pp. 54-61). By the law of December, 1779, under which these figures were brought up to date, a clerk was to receive six pounds—120 shillings—for election day duty, and could be fined thirty pounds for neglect (*Laws,* 4 sess., 1 Sit., pp. 34-40). Salary warrants tell the same story. In June, 1778, the governor's salary for half a year was £500; a year later it was £1,000 for half a year; by March, 1780, a salary warrant for four months authorized payment of £2,666. 13*s.* 4*d.* Justices and state officers received comparable increments. (Minutes Gov.P.C., Vol. I, pp. 36, 59-60, 68-69, 74-75.) The point needs no laboring.

[57]AM files, NJSL.

tion.[58] Yet no such action was taken with regard to the property qualification. The legislature made no attempt to maintain a consistent exclusion of those without property. The fifty-pound qualification itself was an institution carried over from colonial days, merely a vestige of the traditional safeguard of propertied interests. The absence of agitation on the suffrage issue shows that the step taken in 1776 was decisive, and was never in practice reversed, leaving no pressure for reaction on the conservative side and no body of discontent among the reformers.

The records of elections from about the mid-1790's make it possible to assemble some statistics which go far to explain the decline of the suffrage question as a political issue. A very high proportion of the population of adult white men are found to be availing themselves of the suffrage just as soon as the polling places themselves became reasonably accessible.[59] In the interval since the war, not one measure had been enacted to reduce the property qualification, and it is only possible to infer that a nearly universal right of suffrage was no longer in dispute. The law of 1807 that formally established taxpayer suffrage merely confirmed existing practices.[60]

The constitution of 1776 was not intended to establish universal suffrage, and undoubtedly left a number of people outside the qualifications. The unemployed, the casual laborer, artistans' assistants, and the floating migratory population would still be excluded, and, in another category, younger sons living at home,[61] and younger men in general who, though making their way, might not yet have more than a daily subsistence. From the point of view of the structure of society, and of its reflection in political life, however, the most striking consequence of the constitution of 1776 is that it left no distinct social or economic group, and

[58]The Provincial Congress did in fact alter the qualifications after the constitution, with its suffrage clauses, had been adopted, when by an ordinance of July, 1776, the oath of allegiance was added for both voters and legislators. (*Minutes P.C.C.S.*, p. 560.) The legislature, in the election act of 1777, changed "Proclamation money" to lawful money," liberalizing the qualifications by including wealth in Continental money. (McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, p. 72, and n. 25.)

[59]McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, Ch. IV. Professor McCormick has found nearly seventy per cent adult white males voting in Essex in 1785 (p. 84). Pole, "Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790-1807," *loc. cit.*, pp. 60-61. Dr. McCormick demonstrates the importance of the township system in rendering the polls accessible, *Voting in New Jersey*, pp. 91-96.

[60]*Laws*, 32 Sess., 1 Sit., pp. 14-15; Pole, "Suffrage in New Jersey," *loc. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

[61]Pointed out to me by Professor R. P. McCormick.

no regional group, in a position of inferiority in the political system, in so far as power within the system was in the hands of the voters in local or state elections.

The same cannot be said of power exercised through membership of the state legislature. In this sphere a high scale of property qualifications was retained.[62]

John Rutherfurd, later United States Senator from New Jersey, observed in 1786 that most of the land in the state was divided into farms of from fifty to four hundred acres;[63] and Professor McCormick has estimated that in this period a farmer owning two hundred acres could qualify to sit in the Assembly.[64] But despite these restrictions, the question seldom arose, and never seems to have been the occasion of a political campaign or controversy. In September, 1777, one Edward Fleming, having been elected to represent Essex County in the Assembly, declared before taking his oath that he had not been a freeholder in the county for one whole year past. It was resolved that he could not be admitted to his seat.[65] An act of 1790 dropped the requirement that members of the Assembly must take an oath that they were freeholders, but it apparently continued to be administered until 1807.[66] In that year the two members elected from Sussex explained that, although of several years' residence, and now freeholders, they had not been freeholders for the whole year last past, "as seemed to be required by one of the oaths to be taken." A committee reported that the constitution did not require the oath, and that they have been able to discover no law enforcing it. It would be expedient to dispense with it, especially so far as it affected the gentlemen from Sussex. After a debate the clause referring specifically to the gentlemen from Sussex was dropped. The amended report was then carried by twenty-nine votes to six, Republicans and Federalists both voting in favor.[67]

[62]To be eligible for a seat on the Council under the new constitution, a candidate had to be an inhabitant and freeholder of his county of at least one year's standing, and to be worth one thousand pounds proclamation money, real and personal estate, within the county. For an assemblyman, a candidate must have been an inhabitant and a freeholder in the county for a year and be worth five hundred pounds real and personal. *Minutes P.C.C.S.*, pp. 552-58.

[63]John Rutherfurd, "Notes on the State of New Jersey" (1786), *Proceedings NJHS*, 2 Ser., I (1867-69), 79-89.

[64]McCormick, *Experiment in Independence*, p. 74.

[65]Assembly *Votes and Proceedings*, Sept. 15, 1777.

[66]McCormick, *Voting in New Jersey*, p. 96.

[67]*Votes and Proceedings*, 1807, pp. 6, 10-12.

The rule was thus relaxed; and the issue was finally disposed of by the constitutional convention of 1844, at which the Chief Justice asked when enquiry as to his qualifications had ever been made of a candidate.[68] The higher qualification for membership of the legislature was then abolished;[69] but the Chief Justice's rhetorical question does not mean that seats in Assembly and Council had been unrestricted as to personal property, for unqualified persons would probably not have sought election.[70]

The Republicans, who gained a majority in the legislature in 1801,[71] and ruled again from 1803 to 1812,[72] never moved to reduce the property qualifications for membership of the legislative bodies in the earlier period. It was not merely that their interest in retaining their privilege of membership as individuals was more than a match for their zeal for reform; they shared with their Federalist rivals the fundamental notion that government should remain primarily the concern of the gentry.[73]

Nevertheless, it is clear that the issue was never prominent; the campaigning of the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian periods alike fails to reveal any earnest demand for reform on this head. The absence of demand for suffrage reform, on the other hand, is explained when we realize that an almost universal white manhood suffrage had been exercised many years, perhaps fifty years, before the convention of 1844 gave it the stamp of constitutional authority. Neither Jacksonian democracy nor western pressure brought this suffrage into being. The Provincial Congress of 1775-76 was directly challenged to extend the legal right of suffrage; and the measure in which the constitution of 1776 answered the demand is reflected in the fact that this proved to be the only point throughout the period down to 1844 at which the extension of the suffrage was itself the object of an articulate and organized movement.

[68] *New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1844* (N.J. Federal Writers' Project, Trenton, 1942), pp. 108-09.

[69] *New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1844*, p. 435.

[70] The point could be finally settled only by extensive sampling of the financial histories of members, not at their deaths—through wills—but at the time of their membership, and material for this is decidedly scarce.

[71] *Trenton Federalist & New Jersey Gazette*, Jan. 6, 1801.

[72] Elmer, *Constitution and Government of New Jersey*, pp. 151-52.

[73] See L. D. White, *The Jeffersonians* (N.Y., 1951), especially pp. 548-50.

A View of the Society's Library

JOHN O. BIGELOW

The author is well known for his services in the legal field particularly as a judge (lately retired) of the Superior Court of New Jersey. Judge Bigelow is also an active supporter of the New Jersey Historical Society and member of its Board of Trustees. Feeling that the riches in the Society's library deserve to be better known, he describes below some of the discoveries to be made there.

Visitors to the reading room of the Historical Society may notice at one end of the room a double door, of heavy steel, of the kind associated with safes. This is the entrance to the stacks, a structure of four tiers or stories in which is housed the greater part of the Society's collection of books and newspapers. One day last December, I noticed in the shelves a set of a hundred volumes of bound pamphlets, the calf back-strips mouldering away and the bindings of most of the volumes in much need of repair. (Unfortunately the funds of the Society have been insufficient to keep our collections in proper condition.) I spent an hour or two glancing at titles of pamphlets and reading snatches of their contents. Quickly I discovered that the unprepossessing exteriors of the volumes concealed much matter of great interest.

There are upwards of a thousand pamphlets collected in the set, all dealing with some aspect or another of New Jersey history or activities. They range through the century beginning with the year 1775, but I estimate that the greater number were printed in the forty years that ended with the Civil War. They are not bound in chronological sequence or in strict accordance with subject, but rather at haphazard. The subject matters are most varied: reports of all sorts of governmental bodies (freeholders, boards of education, road boards and so on); reports of canal companies and of railroads; political papers; sermons and orations; and a great deal that can only be classified as "miscellaneous." The titles of a few of the pamphlets I copied down.

There was an *Oration upon the Death of General George Washington,* delivered in the State House at Trenton, January 14, 1800, by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, president of the

College of New Jersey. And another oration on the same subject by Major Isaac Roberdeau, delivered February 12, 1800, at Johnsonbury, Sussex County. The final "y" in the name of the village has become a "g," if my surmise is correct that the oration was given at what we know as Johnsonburg in Warren County. Surprising that a speech delivered in a small village should have been printed in pamphlet form.

An *Address for the Benefit of the Greeks,* delivered in Trinity Church, Newark, on January 13, 1824, by William W. Miller, Esq., counsellor-at-law. The War of Greek Independence was then raging and American sympathies were strongly aroused, despite the fact that the Greeks showed as much eagerness in fighting each other as in fighting the Turks. The disillusionment of the most famous of the foreign volunteers who aided the Greeks, Byron, is attested by those familiar verses, "The Isles of Greece," and the lines in "Childe Harold" that conclude, "Thy glorious day is o'er, but not thine years of shame!" However, when the hat was passed around at Trinity Church, after the address of Mr. Miller, a total of four hundred dollars was contributed for the assistance of the Hellenes.

A *Farewell Sermon,* preached at Newark, May 28, 1809, by Rev. Edward D. Griffin, D.D., second edition, 1809. A second edition of a sermon is a rarity. Perhaps this one attained that degree of popularity because of its somewhat harrowing quality:

> And when in some later day, you shall hear that the tongue which now addresses you has ceased to move, and the heart which loved you is still in death, and when a few friends shall have performed the last office for this worthless body, and the cold turf shall lie heavy on this breast, you then will utter one sigh and drop one tear for him who bore you in his heart to the grave.

A volume is devoted to addresses delivered before the American Whig Society and the Cliosophic Society of the College of New Jersey. Other titles are: *Centenniel Celebration of Rutgers College; Historical Notices of Saint Peter's Church, Perth Amboy,* 1830; *Constitution of the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery,* 1793; *A Short State of the Proceedings of the Proprietors of East and West Jersey Relative to the Line of Division between Them; by which the Injustice of the Pre-*

tended Claim of West Jersey to Lands Eastward and Adjoining the Line of Division as Run by John Lawrence, will appear, 1775; *Report of Commission to Investigate the Charges Concerning Wrecks on the Monmouth Coast,* 1846. That last may be interesting. I surmise—or hope—that it relates to accusations against some of the Monmouth folk, charging them with looting wrecked vessels, perhaps even facilitating wrecks. Some day I must read this pamphlet.

I also came across a paper on schools which seemed to deserve somewhat careful study. It is a report made in 1828, "exhibiting a succinct account of the state of common schools in New-Jersey" by a "committee appointed at a public meeting of the friends of education, held at the State House in Trenton." The committeemen were Charles Ewing, the chief justice of New Jersey, John N. Simpson, and Theodore Frelinghuysen. Mr. Frelinghuysen was then attorney-general of New Jersey and the following year was chosen Senator of the United States; he was very active in religious work, especially in the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society; his interest in education was demonstrated by his service in later years, first as chancellor of New York University and then as president of Rutgers College. The report was compiled from reports of central and sub-committees of the several counties and townships of the state. It is certainly worthy of note that concern for improving the schools was so great and widespread that voluntary committees covering the whole state could be organized, and most of them would actually function.

On the whole, the school situation in New Jersey was found to be very bad. Scattered through the county reports are such expressions as "greatly to be lamented," "miserably deficient," "truly deplorable," and frequently, "appalling." The number of children growing up without any schooling whatever was said to be very considerable.

> Some of them are children of parents who are too poor to pay for their tuition, or spare their labor; others are too remote from the school, and others (who constitute by far the largest class) are children of parents who are ignorant of the advantages of education and are consequently negligent of the instruction of their children.

The public schools in those days were known as common schools. In them the children were taught reading, writing and a little arithmatic—nothing more. There were, however, in most of the counties two or three private schools, "academies," whose curriculum generally included Latin, Greek, French and—as was said of the Springfield Academy—"the sciences usually taught." One of the few survivors is that fine educational institution, the Newark Academy. In South Jersey, there were also a number of schools supported by the Quakers—Friends' schools.

The common schools seem to have been owned and managed by trustees appointed or elected by the township committees or perhaps the voters of the school districts into which the townships, or most of them, were divided. But they were not free schools, although the tuition by our standards was absurdly low, no more than one or two dollars a quarter. And, incredible as it may be, this tuition appears to have been the sole support of school and teacher, for our report so indicates when mentioning "the three modes of providing for popular instruction, viz: that in which the scholars pay everything, and the public nothing (*such is the mode now existing in New Jersey*)—that in which the public pays everything, and the scholars nothing, (as in Connecticut—and that in which the burden is shared by both." No wonder our schools were miserably deficient!

Morris County had the best common schools in the state.

> It is probable that this county more richly enjoys the advantages and blessings of education, than any other in the State. Sixty-nine schools and 2411 scholars are reported; and making a probable estimate for the parts not reported, there are about 82 schools, and 2800 scholars in the county. Many of the schools are kept up in the winter only. Female teachers are in many places employed to instruct small children in the summer . . . The character of the teachers is generally good, although there are not wanting instances of those that are immoral.

Throughout the state, most of the teachers were men—and were not well spoken-of by the county committees. "As to the morals and qualifications of the teachers, the committee should perhaps be silent." "We are very often imposed upon by strangers who palm themselves upon us as teachers, whose habits are bad in every respect and disqualified for teachers of youth." The root of the trouble was too-meagre pay:

Several good school houses in tolerably populous neighborhoods have been vacant most of the year for want of teachers. Indeed the greatest evil and that which calls most loudly for remedy, is the difficulty of obtaining competent teachers who are willing to engage in the occupation of teachers for a reasonable length of time. The compensation obtained is generally inadequate, and the necessary consequence is that individuals competent to teach, seldom engage in school-keeping if they can find any other occupation.

One of the sub-committeemen recommended that a high school be established to educate young men for teachers.

Let them be instructed and properly disciplined in the best mode of communicating ideas to the young mind. They should learn to govern themselves and to govern a school without a rod, and without speaking a cross word. Let all government be effected by mild and pleasing persuasion, that shall so win the affections of every child, that he will feel most pleased, when he pleases his teacher most.

But a generation was to pass by before our first normal school, the one in Trenton, was established in 1856. While the graduates of our normal schools may not fully reach the ideal picture in the report of 1828, they constitute a group of men and women of fine character and technical equipment who have restored school teaching in New Jersey to the dignity of a learned profession.

The Warren County committee concisely summed up the situation in their county:

We have in our county 57 school houses, and about 20 regions of very considerable extent entirely destitute. About 30 is the average number of pupils who attend each school. As nearly as can be ascertained, at twelve of the school houses, the schools are kept up during the whole year. Of the remaining 45, some have been destitute the whole of the past year; in some they have had teachers three months; in some six months, and in a very few nine months. The price of tuition varies from $1.25 to $2.00 per quarter. With few exceptions, no branches higher than reading, writing and arithmetic are taught.

An immediate consequence of our wholly inadequate school system was a very considerable body of adults who could neither read nor write. Some were included in that group who had attended school for short periods, for, as pointed out by the Salem County committee, "children who attend only a short time at long intervals, make scarcely any proficiency, as they nearly for-

get all that they acquired during a few months' attendance before the next opportunity of going to school occurs." Our report cites frequently on the subject of illiteracy an investigation made a year earlier by the New Jersey Bible Society. One of the agents of the Society who explored Cape May County stated, "Of the families which I visited there were eighteen in which there were none who could read; twenty in which neither of the parents could read, and forty-five in which only one of the parents could read." Mr. Frelinghuysen's committee presented an estimate of the number of adults who were unable to read and the number of children who had no schooling at all, both considerably lower than I would have expected: 15,000 illiterate adults, or about ten per cent of the adult population of the state; 11,742 children of school age, five to fifteen, or fifteen per cent of that part of the population which fell within that age range.

The movement of which this report was the high spot stirred the legislature to pass our first general school law, An Act to Establish Common Schools (pamphlet laws of 1829, page 105). From the point of view of 1955, it was a feeble beginning; but it was a first step on a long road on which we have now reached a stage which is a source of much satisfaction to us. The 1829 act empowered each township to appoint a school committee which should examine and license teachers, and should divide the township into school districts. The inhabitants of each district were authorized to elect a board of school trustees who were directed to provide a suitable school house or room, and to engage a licensed teacher. The township school committees were directed to report annually on the condition of schools in the township, these reports to be combined and condensed into an annual report to the legislature. The act of 1829 also appropriated twenty thousand dollars a year to be apportioned among the townships and school districts for school purposes—about twenty five cents for each child of school age. And the townships were empowered to lay taxes in aid of the schools.

Little of this was mandatory. It was optional with each township whether or not to appoint the school committee which was the foundation of the local operation; but it was likely that the township would do so and then the examination and licensing

of teachers would be mandatory as would be the annual reports. It was also optional whether the township would vote a school tax, and here the chance of any school tax in many of the townships was poor and the chance of an adequate tax was almost nil, for our forebears were not conditioned to taxation.

In the same volume of pamphlets that contains the report of 1828, is a *Memorial to the Legislature of New Jersey on Public Instruction,* from the Perth Amboy Philanthropist Association, December 23, 1837. It is a sign that the agitation for better schools was continuing, or had been resumed. And the next year another important statute on education was adopted, An Act to Establish Public Schools. It was much like the earlier act, and in some respects may have seemed a step backward. While it increased the state appropriation for schools from twenty thousand to thirty thousand dollars, it limited the amount a township might raise by taxation to double the amount it received from the state. Assuming that each township raised the maximum which the law permitted, the total public funds provided for education in the whole state would be ninety thousand dollars.

The census of 1840, pertaining to New Jersey, printed as an appendix to our laws of 1841, gives the number of white inhabitants of age five and under fifteen years as 89,107, and the number of scholars in "Primary and common schools" as 51,335, of whom 6,929 were "at public charge." The scholars in "Academies and grammar schools" numbered 2,988. The public contribution toward the education of tuition-paying scholars could not have exceeded $1.50 or $2.00 per student annually. The census also gave the number of white persons over twenty years of age who could not read or write as 6,350, or only four per cent of total whites of full age. I suspect a good many citizens fibbed about their illiteracy.

A provision of the law of 1838 that much surprised me I will quote:

> Where the patrons or proprietors of any school already organized and established under the care of any religious society or denomination of Christians, whose church discipline provides for the establishment of schools and the appointment of trustees, are unwilling to relinquish such school and become subject to the provisions of this act, it shall be the

duty of the trustees of said school to transmit to the school committee of their respective townships a certificate of their organization together with a list of children of such patrons and proprietors between the ages of five and sixteen years who are capable of attending school; whereupon every such school shall be entitled to receive its just and rateable proportion of the money assigned to said township out of the income of the school fund, and of such additional sums as may be raised or appropriated by said township for the support of public schools.

It is my guess that the two provisions I have cited, the one limiting the amount a township might raise for schools and the other allotting a share of the moneys to denominational schools, were both intended to encourage the townships to raise school money by taxation. The first provision would quiet the opposition of those who feared that once a start was made, the township would vote an unbearably large sum for schools; the other provision would gain the support of those who were sending their children to church schools. The greater number of church schools qualified under the act to receive public moneys were the Quaker schools in South Jersey—and there were not so many of them. If there were any schools at that time established under the care of the Presbyterian Church—as an example of most Protestant denominations—they were not entitled to come in under the statute, for the discipline of the Presbyterian Church did not provide for such schools. As to the Roman Catholic Church, I believe it had no parochial schools in New Jersey at this time, 1838, or until after the installation of Bishop Bailey in 1853. And in 1838, Catholics were a small and uninfluential element in our population.

The provision for the aid of church schools out of tax money remained a part of our statute law until repealed in 1866. But the controversy over such aid, and the growth of public opinion in favor of our public schools is beyond the scope of this paper.

The Westminster

WILLIAM C. McGINNIS

At number 149 Kearny Avenue in Perth Amboy is a colonial house known as "the Westminster." Erected in 1764,[1] this interesting old building was associated in the early part of its 192-year history with some of New Jersey's leading citizens. At the beginning of the Revolution it was the home of William Franklin, last royal governor of New Jersey, son of the patriot-scientist Benjamin Franklin.[2]

The house is old and Perth Amboy is older. It was an old town even before the Revolution. Here, in 1684, more than a century before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the seat of government of the province had been established. The first session of the General Assembly was held in Perth Amboy in 1686. The town was the head of the court system of the province. Here leaders of the colony sat in the seats of the mighty in government, commerce, and law. They believed that this was destined to be one of America's greatest cities, and the city charter (1718), granted more than a century after the town was founded, gave Perth Amboy an official seal (still in use) bearing the words *Portus Optimus,* "the best port."[3] The streets of the ancient town, as in times long gone by, lead down to the beautiful waters of Raritan Bay and the Arthur Kill, but alas! Portus Optimus is not here.

It was in Perth Amboy that the first Christian congregation in New Jersey held its first service, 1685: St. Peter's Episcopal Church, established 1698, chartered 1718. It was in the latter

THE WRITER, who served for many years as Perth Amboy superintendent of schools, is now official historian of the city. He has degrees from the University of Vermont (B.S., 1907) and Columbia University (A.M. and Ph.D., 1929). Before coming to Perth Amboy in 1929, Dr. McGinnis served as superintendent of schools in North Troy and Bellows Falls, Vt., and Revere, Mass.

[1]Council of East Jersey Proprietors, Minutes, September 15, 1764; William A. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy* (New York, 1856), p. 260.

[2]Whitehead, p. 188.

[3]Whitehead, pp. 10, 11, 50-52; W. Woodford Clayton, *History of Union and Middlesex Counties* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 618.

year, 1718, that the old town of Perth Amboy received its charter as a city.[4]

The Westminster was not the first "Governor's House" in Perth Amboy. An earlier building on Water Street, recently torn down, was long known as the Governor's House. It was built in 1685 by John Hamilton, who was governor (president of the Council) 1736-38. Although never officially designated as the Governor's House, it was occupied by several of the governors, among them Robert Hunter and William Burnet.

By 1761 the Water Street house had ceased to be used as the governor's residence. The Proprietors of East Jersey in that year laid plans for the erection of the building which we know today as "the Westminster," completed in 1764.[5]

At a meeting of the Board of Proprietors held on March 25, 1761, the first action looking to the building of a Governor's House was taken, and it was "Agreed that the said house when built shall be called and known as the Proprietory House in Amboy."[6] The cost was not to exceed three thousand pounds, but the ultimate expenditure ran much higher. Two years later the treasurer was authorized to borrow twenty-five hundred pounds additional.[7]

Governor William Franklin preferred to live at Burlington, but Frederick Smyth, whom he appointed chief justice of the Colony, lived in the Proprietory House with his family from 1766 to 1771, they being the first occupants. Governor Franklin and his wife, the former Miss Elizabeth Downs, moved into it in October, 1774.[8]

William Franklin was the most popular of the twenty-one men who served as royal governors of the Province. But Revolution was in the air and the Governor felt the rising wrath of the people as he walked the streets of his capital city. Benjamin Franklin visited his son in the Governor's home and urged him to join the patriot cause. William rebuffed all his father's plead-

[4]Both charters were granted by King George I and were issued through Robert Hunter, the fourth royal governor (1710-19) of East and West Jersey. W. Northey Jones, *History of St. Peter's Church*, p. 43; Whitehead, pp. 52, 149, 154, 217; Harold E. Pickersgill, *Nova Caesaria and Ompoge Point* (Perth Amboy, 1937), p. 5.

[5]Whitehead, pp. 251-60.

[6]Council of East Jersey Proprietors, Minutes, March 25, 1761.

[7]*Ibid.*, March 20, 1763.

[8]Clayton, p. 632; Whitehead, pp. 188, 260; George J. Miller, "History of Westminster," *Perth Amboy Evening News*, May 31, 1930.

Brighton House (now "the Westminster") as it looked in 1809.

ings and continued loyal to the royal authority. On June 17, 1776, Governor Franklin was arrested at his home, the Proprietory House (Westminster).[9]

While Perth Amboy was occupied by British troops in the Revolution, the Proprietory House was the headquarters of the commander, General William Howe. The interior of the building was destroyed by fire shortly after the war. In 1785 it was sold by the Board of Proprietors.[10]

On May 22, 1793, the New Jersey legislature passed "An act to vest the title of a lot of land in Perth Amboy in Walter Rutherfurd, Esq., president of the Council of Proprietors of East Jersey." This law provided that the fee simple of the lot of land on which a house was built by the Proprietors and which had been conveyed by Lewis Johnston and Philip Kearny and Isabella, his wife, to Robert Hunter Morris, Oliver DeLancey, John Stevens, Cortlandt Skinner, and William Burnet, "shall be and the same is vested in Walter Rutherfurd, President of the Council of the Proprietors, who is hereby authorized by deed in his name to convey the said lot to any purchaser or purchasers in full and ample manner as the original grantees could or might have done."[11] This act shows that Philip Kearny and his wife

[9]Whitehead, pp. 187-93; Miller.

[10]Whitehead, p. 260; Miller.

[11]*Statutes of New Jersey,* 17th Ses., 2 Sit., p. 834. *"Whereas,* James Parker, Esq., Register of the Council of Proprietors of East, New Jersey, by Order on behalf of said Proprietors, hath, by his petition to the Legislature, set forth that the general Proprietors of East New Jersey, on the 9th day of September [1762] . . . purchased of Lewis Johnson and Philip Kearney and Isabella, his wife, a lot of land in Perth Amboy, on which they afterwards built a house for the residence of a Governor; that the Deeds for said lot were executed to Robert-Hunter Morris, Oliver Delancey, John Stevens, William Burnet and Cortland Skinner, who held the same in trust for the said general proprietors, but that the trust is not declared in the said Deeds; that all the said grantors in said Deeds named, except Cortland Skinner, have departed this life, and that the estate of the said Cortland Skinner has been confiscated, etc., and vested in this State; and praying that a law may pass to vest the title to said lot of land in Walter Rutherfurd, Esq.; the president of the council of said Proprietors: . . . *therefore,* Be it enacted . . . that the fee simple of the lot of land at Perth Amboy, on which a house was built by the general proprietors of East New Jersey, and which was conveyed by Lewis Johnson and Philip Kearney and Isabella, his wife, to Robert-Hunter Morris, Oliver Delancey, John Stevens, William Burnet and Cortland Skinner, shall be . . . vested in Walter Rutherfurd, Esq., as the President of the Council of Proprietors of East New Jersey, who is hereby authorized by Deed in his name to convey the said lot to any purchaser or purchasers in as full and ample a manner as the said Robert-Hunter Morris, Oliver Delancey, John Stevens, William Burnet and Cortland Skinner, or the survivors or survivor of them at any time heretofore could or might have conveyed the same. Passed at Trenton, May 22, 1793. Cortland Skinner was attorney-general of the Province and speaker of the Assembly. (Clayton, p. 498.) In

had sold to the Proprietors a part of the site, but the Proprietors' records have no account of the purchase.

Under authority of the law of May 22, 1793, the house was put up for sale. The highest bid ($1,051) was submitted by Joseph Bloomfield, who assigned it to John Rattoon. In accordance with the bid assignment, Walter Rutherfurd conveyed the two lots, eleven acres, to John Rattoon on May 1, 1794.[12]

On November 10, 1808, the house was sold to Richard Woodhull for $8,000.[13] He added the south wing and the house was then made a hotel and named Brighton House, which came to be known far and wide.[14] It was one of the finest summer resort houses in the country. There were many servants. Entertainment was lavish. There was music by excellent bands. Families and parties spent their vacations here. People came to benefit by the healthful waters of Spa Springs.[15] The owner, Woodhull, was a new York merchant. In 1811 he sold the property to James Maxwell for $30,000. In eighteen years its value had increased $28,949.[16]

The War of 1812 ruined the resort business of the Brighton. On March 9, 1816, Maxwell sold the property to John Stevens, Thomas Lovell and Elias Potter, Jr. John Rattoon still held a mortgage on it, which he foreclosed. It was bought at sheriff's sale by Matthew Bruen for $14,500 on October 24, 1817.[17] Mr. Bruen was a wealthy merchant and owned valuable lands in New York City, Buffalo, and in Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and other states. The house was owned by the Bruen family from 1817 to 1883. In his will, probated August 4, 1846, Matthew Bruen left the property to his sons, Alexander Bruen and Herman Bruen.[18] In 1856 Whitehead recorded the fact that the house was still a summer resort.[19] It was similarly described in

1776 the Continental Congress ordered his arrest, but he went to New York and was made a brigadier-general under General William Howe. (Whitehead, p. 342.) This accounts for the confiscation of his estate.

[12]Middlesex County Deeds, 5:136; Miller.

[13]Deeds, 7:627.

[14]It was probably named after Brighton, a summer resort in England.

[15]At the time that Brighton House was a famous and moneymaking hotel, Kearny Avenue had not been cut through. The boundary of the premises on the east was the west side of High Street.

[16]Deeds, 8:782.

[17]Deeds, 12:770; Miller.

[18]Middlesex County Wills.

[19]Whitehead, p. 260.

1882, by W. W. Clayton in his *History of Union and Middlesex Counties.*

On March 28, 1883, Alexander Bruen conveyed the house to "The Presbyterian Board of Relief for Disabled Ministers and Widows and Orphans of Deceased Ministers," a Pennsylvania corporation. It was stipulated that if the premises ceased to be used for the above-mentioned purpose within a fifty-year period they would be reconveyed to Alexander Bruen *ipso facto,* or to his heirs. Alexander Bruen's conveyance of the premises to the Presbyterians was a gift.[20]

The name "Westminster" was given to the house by the Presbyterian Board. It was occupied and used for the stipulated purpose until 1903, and because fifty years had not expired, title to the premises and house reverted to the heirs of Alexander Bruen.

In 1904 the property was sold to John Holm, and the Bruens took a mortgage for $40,500. Mr. Holm divided the eleven acres into lots and sold them.[21]

There have been several owners of the Westminster since 1904. No good purpose would be served by naming all of them here. In 1945 the property was owned by Katherine and Robert Caziarc, who sold it to Bond and Company.[22] In 1950 it was bought by the present owners, Milton and George Teltsher of Orange, N.J.[23]

The Westminster was the Proprietory House for forty-four years, 1764-1808! it was the Brighton House nine years, 1808-17; the Bruen House sixty-six years, 1817-83; and has had its present name seventy-three years, 1883-1956. In the nearly two centuries of its existence, the building has had four names.

In its old age, the Proprietory House is a neglected relic of ancient grandeur. Since 1911 it has been a rooming house. It is the last of many historical landmarks in New Jersey's colonial capital, the rest of them destroyed in the march of time. Perth Amboy and New Jersey are under obligation to the present and to future generations to save and restore the old house. Its original name, Proprietory House, should be given back to it, and the building should be preserved. "Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set."

[20]Deeds, 195:402.
[21]Deeds, 356:503; Miller.
[22]Deeds, 1288:97.
[23]Deeds, 1526:503.

Woodrow Wilson and Frederick Jackson Turner

GEORGE C. OSBORN

THERE was much of similarity in Wilson and Turner. The former, approximately five year the elder, was a product of the South; the latter was a son of the West. Although Virginia and Wisconsin, the native states of Wilson and Turner, had little in common at the middle of the nineteenth century, historically the sections in which these commonwealths were located were somewhat similar. As boys, Tommy Wilson and Fred Turner participated in several oratorical contests, and as members of literary societies engaged frequently in debates. Gifted in speech and rhetoric as young men, these two men met in the academic year 1888-89 on the campus of Johns Hopkins University where Wilson, much against his own desires, had taken the examination for, and had been awarded, the Ph.D. degree in 1886. Now two years later Wilson, as a special lecturer, was rushing down to Baltimore in mid-winter from Middletown, Connecticut, to give a series of lectures in history and political science. Among the graduate students who matriculated for Wilson's course was Turner. On February 15, 1889, this Westerner read before the seminar in history and political science his research paper entitled "The Influence of the Fur Trade in the Northwest from the Standpoint of Wisconsin." One of the students, Stephen B. Weeks, served as secretary of that meeting. If there was any dis-

THE WRITER, a native of Mississippi, graduated from Mississippi College in 1927, and holds A.M. (1932) and Ph.D. (1938) degrees from Indiana University. He has served on the faculties of Berry College, Bob Jones College, University of Mississippi, Memphis State College, and is now professor of history and social science at the University of Florida. His writings include one book, some forty articles in professional journals, and several hundred book reviews. Dr. Osborn wishes to express his thanks to Dean L. E. Grinter, director of research, and the Research Council of the University of Florida, for a grant which made possible the research on which the present article is based.

cussion on Turner's scholarly essay, by the teacher or the students, Weeks failed to record it in the minutes of the meeting.[1]

During the four or five weeks in which Professor Wilson lectured at Johns Hopkins, he and his bright pupil Turner had rooms at the same boarding house. At mealtime they talked much and lingered afterward to continue their interesting conversations. Possessed of brilliant minds, both teacher and student were essentially original and independent thinkers. Wilson perhaps arrived at his conclusions quicker than did Turner, who was more gradual, more evolutionary, in his intellectual mechanism. The Westerner seemed to grope about more than did the Southerner who, in his intellectual reasoning, went more directly to an answer. If Turner was slower in thinking through a problem, his conclusions were frequently more scientific, more accurate, more logical. Wilson's mind, as if by intuition, would race to a conclusion and *an* answer thus found became frequently for him *the* answer.

Both of these men, who soon became fast friends, were essentially philosophers. The older man was a political philosopher. He taught politics, wrote of politics, as an amateur engaged in university campus politics, and in middle age he successfully entered professional politics. For years Wilson planned to write a definitive philosophy of politics. Although he accumulated boxes of notes, he never wrote the book.[2] Turner was more of a social philosopher. Not intrigued with current politics, he was a devotee of the cultural past.

The conversations of these two men naturally centered on their fields of common interest. Certainly, the nature of our federal government was a topic of comment and Turner must have drawn his teacher out on the subject of congressional government, about which Wilson only recently had written so ably. According to Fulmer Mood, a student of Turner's youthful years,

[1]Fulmer Mood, "Turner's Formative Period," in Frederick Jackson Turner, *Early Writings* (Madison, 1938), ed. by Louise P. Kellogg, pp. 3-39; Johns Hopkins University History Seminar Records, 1877-92, pp. 566-67, in Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore.

[2]See notes on P.O.P. in Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress. Hereafter, unless stated otherwise, the Wilson Papers will refer to this collection.

these two "often discussed the then moot point of the nature of American nationality."[3] That each of these young men was spending hours daily reading American history and the closely related topic of the American government is obvious. In exchanging information about and opinions on many of the currently read writers on American history, they were conscious of the undue emphasis given to the role of New England in the developing of American history. The inability to see beyond the Hudson River evidenced in the writings of not a few American historians was clearly seen by these two. Each was conscious of the inattention given or of the erroneous statements made by such writers on the contributions of the South and the West to the unrolling of American history. Wilson the Southerner and Turner the Westerner felt the great need to correct these false statements of Northern writers or to fill in their sectional omissions. Both teacher and pupil profited greatly by these frequent and extensive conversations. Ties of mutual friendship and respect destined to last for years were created between these men at Johns Hopkins during these few weeks in which they were thrown together.

Upon the completion of his lectures, Wilson returned to his home, to his wife, their young daughters, and to his professional routine as a member of the faculty of Wesleyan. Shortly thereafter Turner journeyed westward to his growing responsibilities as a young member of the teaching staff of the University of Wisconsin. With his inspiring teacher gone, Turner took advantage of the first opportunity which came his way to express in writing some of the ideas which he and Wilson had discussed frequently during the preceding weeks. The doctoral candidate's chance for expression was in reviewing for the *Dial,* August, 1889, Theodore Roosevelt's *Winning of the West.* In this his first review, Turner gave his personal opinions of the great defect in the presentation of American history: "America's historians," he wrote, "have for the most part, like wise men of old, come from the East, and as a result our history has been written from the point of view of the Atlantic coast." The American occupation of the transmontane west had not found its mouthpiece

[3]Mood, *op. cit.,* p. 21.

among the historians. Here, in Turner's opinion, was the greatest omission of the writers of history. Having stated the gravest defect, he gave the remedy. "General United States history," he continued, "should be built upon the fact that the centre of gravity of the nation has passed across the mountains in to this great region [of the Mississippi basin]." And Turner with a smile of self-confidence added, "to give to our history the new [sectional] proportions which this fact makes necessary must be the work of the younger generations of students."

Moreover, Turner in reviewing what was to become one of Roosevelt's best books, gave further evidences of his recent talks with his teacher, Wilson, when he wrote that "a new composite nationality is being produced, a distinct American people, speaking the English tongue, but not English." Here was indeed a promising field of study and abundant materials for it existed in several collections.[4] Especially, Turner might have added, in the Draper Collection at his own university.

Hardly had the August issue of the *Dial,* containing the youthful Turner's excellent review, been placed on the Wesleyan University library reading table than Wilson penned a long letter to the reviewer. He had signed recently a contract to write the third volume in the "Epochs of American History" series. The author entitled the book *Division and Reunion, 1829-189* . "I very much need your assistance in the work," declared Wilson, and added that he was "a petitioner for materials only . . . for Western resources, not for . . . work by yourself in my behalf." Turner was reminded of their numerous conversations. "Your remember . . . our talks in Baltimore on the growth of the national idea, and of nationality in our history, and our agreement that the role of the West in this development was a very leading role, though much neglected by our historians?" Wilson wanted to bring out this part of the West as emphatically as possible in what he wrote. Moreover, he desired especially to form and express a right judgment as to the contribution of the West. The spread of the population into the transmontane region and the material development of the West had been discussed, but little or nothing had

[4]Frederick J. Turner review of Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West* (New York, 1889), in *Dial,* X (1889), 71-73.

been said of "the *self-consciousness* . . . of the West . . . of its own conception of its relations to the Union and of its own part in national development."

The writer was familiar with several very interesting conventions which were held in the South not long before the Civil War, looking towards the industrial development of the South, so that she might be put more upon an equality in wealth and resources with other sections of the country. In the debates of these bodies there had appeared as clear indications as one could desire of the South's conception of her place in the mission of the nation. Did Turner know of any similar conventions, or of any like expressions of policy in the West, any conventions looking towards the extension and perfection of railroad systems, of water connections, or of manufacturing, and accompanied by debates expressive of sectional ambitions in material development? If so, would he put Wilson in touch with the proceedings of such conventions, or of magazine articles bearing upon their discussions and critical of their utterances. Biographical material of men active in the development of the West would be welcomed. Wilson's idea, as stated to Turner, was to gain access to materials containing the *self-expression* by Westerners in some authentic manner touching on that section's "material and political ambitions, its attitude of separation or cooperation . . . towards the rest of the country, its sentiments towards Congress and national policy—anything that might furnish a *raison d'etre*" for the Western leaders. The writer realized that he was stretching his claims upon Turner's time, but he had a deep faith in the latter's interest in national history and in his personal generosity that he appealed to him with not a little confidence.

Wilson expressed genuine satisfaction at his former pupil's appointment to the chair of American history and hoped that it was a full and independent chair. Reposing in Turner a rather delicate confidence, the Wesleyan professor stated that he was seriously considering going elsewhere the next year and asked if the Westerner would be interested in coming East. Because Wilson had a very sincere admiration for his protege and a very strong

desire to serve his best interests, he wished to be at liberty to urge Turner as his successor if he accepted a chair elsewhere.[5]

"So far writers have not grasped the historical importance of the West," promptly replied Turner, "that it is gratifying to know that in the present undertaking it will fall to one who appreciates the matter." There was no lack of *self-expression* on the part of Westerners. The problem was rather in the *selection* of materials. With regret Turner informed Wilson that he would not be able to aid him very much in the research for Wilson's volume in the "Epoch" series. Within a few days, wrote Turner, he would be teaching fifteen hours a week, studying for his doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins University, the nomination of which would occur May next, endeavoring to fulfill a promise which he had made to Dr. Herbert B. Adams to do the Northwest in a proposed text-book in American history and, finally, preparing for a seminar in Northwest history which he planned to offer throughout the year. In fact, Wilson's only chance of aid would be Turner's ability to direct a few graduate students as they selected materials from which Wilson might gather his desired information.

Perhaps, anticipating Wilson's disappointment at his failure to secure much aid, Turner added immediately that he knew of no one whose good opinion he would sooner have than Wilson's. He was glad indeed if his former teacher at all reciprocated the high regard which he formed for Wilson as a scholar and a friend at Baltimore. "I count the weeks that you spent at Miss Achton's the best of my stay at John Hopkins," he continued. Although not astonished at Wilson's contemplated move, "for it was only a question of time when you would go where you could do your work in Politics," Turner wanted to know more about the Wesleyan matter before his name was used for any vacancy.

Turner closed this first letter to Wilson with a statement of his own situation at Madison:

[5]Woodrow Wilson to Frederick J. Turner, August 23, 1889, in Frederick Jackson Turner Collection, Harvard College Library. Hereafter, unless stated otherwise, the Turner Collection will refer to this collection.

[6]Turner to Wilson, August 31, 1889, in Wilson Papers.

I am Assistant Professor of American History at a salary of $1,500. I teach two classes in this specialty and I have, besides, classes in General History in the Nineteenth Century, Northwest History, Political Economy and possibly to fill out my fifteen hours I may asked to teach some Rhetoric. I am assured, however, that it is the intention of the institution to make American History an independent department as soon as funds will permit. It is possible also that I may succeed Professor [William F.] Allen who is now sixty years old and yet I have so high a regard for him that I hope this may [be] very distant. He is very friendly to me, and ready to do all he can to help me. The fact that the University is in the same city with the Historical Library, which is the best on Western History, and perhaps on local history in the country, gives my department a peculiar advantage. The institution itself is already one of the best in the West and bids fair I think to take a still higher rank. This is a favorable side. On the other hand I think that the authorities are disposed to trade on these possibilities and demand more hours, while giving smaller remuneration, than they should. I think it is advisable for me to stay here, *if* I am not asked to pay too high a price in health and pecuniary sacrifice.

When, on December 8, 1889, Dr. Allen died, Turner's problems were increased substantially. Not least of these was his expected promotion. Completely unknown to Turner, his friend Reuben G. Thwaites informed Wilson in detail of the developing situation at the University of Wisconsin. Professor Allen's death left vacant the chair of history. Although Allen had "trained Turner up from an undergraduate with the avowed hope of making him, in due time, his successor," things had come to a standstill. It was not that Turner was not liked by his colleagues, or that his students did not have high regard for him. Indeed, wrote Thwaites to Wilson, the fellows on the faculty had keen admiration for Turner and the history students had high regard for his scholarship, his mental vigor, and his upright character. The opposition lay in the president, Thomas C. Chamberlain, who was casting about for another man to succeed Allen. Although Turner was too modest to lift a hand to shape the result, Thwaites conceived a plan of having Turner's friends write letters to the Board of Regents. Would Wilson lend a hand?[7]

Such an opportunity was welcomed by Wilson. He at once wrote the president of the Board of Regents that in the interest of historical scholarship in America, he felt it his plain duty to

[7]Reuben G. Thwaites to Wilson, December 23, 1889, *ibid.*

inform him of Turner's ability.[8] To Thwaites, Wilson confessed that he had a positive affection for Turner. Before leaving Baltimore, Wilson had determined, if ever a chance presented itself, to get his former student on the same faculty so that he might have the pleasure and profit of having him as a colleague.[9] Wilson's generous action, with such tact and grace in his excellent notes to the powers that be would, Thwaites hoped, materially help Turner's cause.[10]

Turner learned of Wilson's efforts in his behalf and wrote to his former teacher of the recent drift of events in the history department at the University of Wisconsin. In brief, the matter had become very perplexing to him. President Chamberlain had been reluctant to accept Turner when he returned from Johns Hopkins until practically forced to do so by Allen. Within a week of Allen's death Chamberlain had consulted Turner as to a capable young person to replace Allen as chairman of the department and professor of history. After he had conferred with others, however, another person was employed to take over the classes assigned to Turner in September, while he was given the late Dr. Allen's work. This arrangement was for one year only, and as for next year matters were simply *in statu quo.*

Such an arrangement was not to Turner's liking. Not that he minded being tested, for what teacher was not. However, President Chamberlain's actions were entirely impossible to predict and in the meantime Turner was kept like Mahammet's coffin. Try though he did to possess his soul in patience, the youthful Turner wrote Wilson that he was growing weary of having to keep one eye off his work in order to look out for his official head. Despite this handicap, Turner's work itself was very pleasant. He was getting no little interest and much hard work from his students, who were dealing with original authorities.

If Turner remained at the University of Wisconsin another year, he hoped to find a place for Wilson's textbook, *The State,* which he had read recently and with which he was much pleased.

[8]Wilson to George H. Paul, quoted in Wilson to Thwaites, December 26, 1889, photostatic copy in Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Library of Congress. Hereafter this collection will be referred to as the Baker Papers.

[9]Wilson to Thwaites, December 26, 1889, *ibid.*

[10]Thwaites to Wilson, December 30, 1889, in Wilson Papers.

Wilson was told by his younger admirer to go where he could follow the lines of work he wished to do. "I believe," said Turner, "you have a great service to perform for this country by impressing your ideal of Politics upon its young men."[11]

Having made the decision to return to Princeton, Wilson inquired further into the conditions at Wisconsin, as they affected Turner. Again, he pressed Turner for permission to recommend him at Wesleyan and raised the question of Turner's salary, if he succeeded Wilson.[12]

Turner may be excused for repetitiously explaining the local conditions to Wilson again, because he was worried. Complimenting President Chamberlain on his determination to find a person with a *reputation* as a historian to replace Allen as department head, Turner still thought he might be retained; and then he wasn't sure. If only he could accurately analyze President Chamberlain—but apparently Turner could not satisfy himself as to his opinion of the President. Indeed, Turner related to Wilson that President Chamberlain was a psychological puzzle to him. In disgust with his inability to solve the Chamberlain puzzle, Turner permitted Wilson to use his name at Wesleyan and penned an autobiographical sketch of himself for Wilson. If elected he would accept unless he were retained at Madison.

In reflection, Turner discussed the less pleasing aspects of *state* universities as contrasted with their *good* qualities. With Wesleyan in mind, he wrote Wilson of the state institution's ignorance of the instructor's religious connections. He, however, wanted Wilson to know that he was a Unitarian whose creed was summed up in the commandment which enjoins love of God and of man.

Within recent months Turner had married Miss Caroline Mae Sherwood and taken his departure from batchelorhood. Already they had begun housekeeping in a modest little house where happiness and strength had been added to Turner's life.[13]

Turner perhaps was giving too much thought to his own professional head. At least Chamberlain retained him to replace Allen and permitted Turner to choose his colleagues. In the sum-

[11]Turner to Wilson, January 23, 1890, *ibid.*
[12]Wilson to Turner, January 26, 1890, in Turner Collection.
[13]Turner to Wilson, February 5, 1890, in Wilson Papers.

mer of 1890 Turner journeyed to Baltimore to complete his examinations for his doctor's degree. Returning to Madison in the fall of 1890, he brought as his assistant the young Charles Haskins.[14] With Turner and Haskins busy reorganizing classes at the University of Wisconsin; with Wilson and his family adjusting themselves for a long stay at Princeton, the friendship of Wilson and Turner, although not shaken, found no expression in letters.

During the three years, 1890-93, in which Wilson and Turner seem not to have corresponded, each was very busy. In this period Wilson published his *Division and Reunion,* which undoubtedly is the best volume of the "Epoch" series. Among other writings, Turner penned a very important essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," which was read at an evening session at the American Historical Association's meeting held at the historical congress in July, 1893, at the Chicago World's Fair.[15]

Wilson was planning to write a history of the United States and informed Turner of his contemplated work.[16] From Chicago, Turner voiced his delight with the news. "I believe no-one," Turner wrote, "is so well qualified to do for us what [Richard] Green did for England, and I shall be glad to be of any service." This Westerner, having recently read *Division and Reunion,* was enthusiastic. In style it was Wilson's most attractive work and in treatment judicial. Some of the chapters, Turner thought, were destined to live with the classics of our literature and history. Having lauded the book, Turner ventured one criticism. Wilson held the doctrine of survival of state sovereignty in too absolute a form. "Admitted the dominant particularism in 1790," Turner wrote, "it is yet true that the South . . . intensified, systematized, and modified the doctrine to suit her changing economic conditions. The South did remain behind the procession of American advance, but she did not remain preserved by the ice of slavery like a Siberian mammoth. She changed greatly."[17]

In the December, 1893, issue of the *Forum,* Wilson published an article, "Mr. Goldwin Smith's Views on Our Political His-

[14]Mood, *op. cit.,* pp. 28-29.

[15]*Ibid.,* pp. 38-39; *American Historical Association Report* (1893), pp. 199-227.

[16]Wilson to Turner, around July 5, 1893. Apparently, this letter has been lost but Turner's reply to Wilson on July 16, 1893, seems to place Wilson's letter about July 5

[17]Turner to Wilson, July 16, 1893, in Wilson Papers.

tory." Here Wilson declared that in our expansion "the great middle states not only made their own rich and characteristic contributions to the institutions and spirit of the country but also the whole West with its great populations, so thoroughly its own . . . [possessed] not only new settlements but a new nation." The history of the United States, contended Wilson, was a history of developments, not origins. Every element of the old life along the Atlantic Seaboard that penetrated the continent at all had been digested and had become an element of new life. It was that transformation that constituted our history. "That part of our history which was most truly national," concluded the Princeton professor, "is the history of the west."[18]

Turner wrote his friend that the lucid and effective statement made in the *Forum* of the importance of the "Middle Region and the West in the doctrine of American development in contrast with the Germanic *genus,* is very gratifying." Wilson's efforts could not fail to make for a more rational study of our history. "I am glad that you think," continued Turner, "I have helped you to some of these ideas, for I have many intellectual debts to repay you."[19]

As Wilson continued to read widely, take notes, plan for and begin writing on his history, he needed some one to read critically the manuscript. No one, he thought, could do such a task so well as could Turner. "Have you not known," Wilson said, "that I was going to ask you to read my manuscript and deal most faithfully with me in criticism of it?" In December, 1894, no whole unit of Wilson's history was completed, so the evil day for Turner was still a little way off, so Wilson thought. If Turner wished or thought best, he could decline. Wilson realized that under these circumstances he should lose a great deal but he was not small enough to be hurt. The writing went slowly, confessed Wilson, for he had fallen in love with the sources; but the labor was a most pleasant pain.[20]

For a fortnight Turner thought over Wilson's proposal before replying. In spite of the many temptations in the request there

[18]Woodrow Wilson, "Mr. Goldwin Smith's Views on Our Political History," in *Forum,* XVI (1893-94), 489-99.

[19]Turner to Wilson, December 20, 1893, in Wilson Papers.

[20]Wilson to Turner, December 10, 1894, in Turner Collection.

was at least one difficulty. Turner had been working on several problems in the same period and was likely to publish at least monographs in the same field before Wilson's book appeared. Both of these young scholars, although independent thinkers, had similar thoughts concerning the writing of American history. As Turner expressed it, "our point of view has so much in common that I could not help absorbing into my own work many of your ideas." And this he would not do. In brief, it was a choice between enjoying Wilson's book before others and abandoning his own plans for publishing. Turner concluded, "I suppose I ought to write."[21]

While appreciating Turner's objection, Wilson was sorely disappointed. Would Turner feel the same objection to looking over the proofs when publication was imminent? Wilson hoped not but refused to ask a pledge so long before hand.

In the pains of historical research and writing, Wilson declared that if what made hard writing made easy reading, his history of the United States ought to go with an excellent relish on the palates of his readers. His volume in the "Epoch" series was child's play compared with the effort to weave the colonial story together into a single consistent narrative. "I pray it may grow easier or it will kill me. And yet," confessed Wilson, "it would be a most pleasant death." Like a hungry boy biting on an aching tooth, there was pleasure in the very pain.[22]

In the fall of 1896 Princeton College became officially Princeton University. It was a gala occasion in the long history of old Nassau, as Wilson delivered the chief oration on "Princeton in the Nation's Service."[23] Among the immediate results was an increased endowment. Much of the money was earmarked but Wilson endeavored to salvage enough for a chair of American history. He recalled a pledge made to himself years earlier and wrote Turner even before final arrangements were made. Would the Westerner consider a call to such a chair at Princeton for a

[21]Turner to Wilson, December 24, 1894, in Wilson Papers. Turner had been rereading Wilson's *Division and Reunion* and again found it entertaining. It was "at once a contribution to knowledge and an example of the wedding of a good literary form to history writing."

[22]Wilson to Turner, December 27, 1894, in Turner Collection.

[23]Woodrow Wilson, "Princeton in the Nation's Service," in *Forum*, XXII (1896), 447-66.

salary of $3,400? The work would be altogether with the upper classes and graduate students with such an environment of free study and quiet living as could not be matched on the continent. The spirit of history, continued the invitation, dwelt at Princeton from of old and the largest sums recently given to the university had been for the library. "I have told you before," asserted Wilson, "how much I desired you for a colleague and now I wish to give substantial proof of the purpose."[24]

Pleasantly surprised, Turner immediately answered at great length. Princeton was an institution with which any man would be proud to be connected, and to have Wilson as a colleague would have given Turner the greatest personal satisfaction. At the risk of fatiguing Wilson, Turner reviewed the developments in the history department since his return from Johns Hopkins in 1889. The staff had been doubled from two to four, courses had been added and the number of students currently enrolled was about six hundred as contrasted with not more than fifty, seven years earlier. Turner personally had 175 students. Although he did not mistake bigness for greatness, he knew that students did not regard his courses as a snap. His salary of $2,500 was increased to $2,800 by teaching in summer school. Library facilities, including historical materials, were good but with the completion of the new fireproof library which would contain three history seminar rooms, he would be most fortunate. Turner had made his field of study Western history, and as he grew older he should become more influential. There were so few scholars doing research and writing in Western history that to have them diminished by one would be regretable. Haskins was a colleague after Turner's own heart. Turner's aging parents lived forty miles away; his wife's family were located in Chicago; he had a cozy and pleasant home by a recently built lake and Madison was beautiful. Finally, all his life he had lived in the West and he loved it.

Against such strong ties as these Turner made long counter-arguments. Princeton, though nobly old, was showing evidences of augmenting vigor. He would profit by contact with Eastern ideas, men and students. His wife had dear friends not far re-

[24]Wilson to Turner, November 5, 1896, in Turner Collection.

moved from Princeton. He could find a good opportunity for creative work in the middle region and in the back country of the South quite equal to his Western field. It would be fascinating to infiltrate his Western interpretation of our national development into American history courses in the East. At Madison, Turner suffered for weeks at a time with colds of a catarrhal nature, which his physician warned him would lead to deafness unless he changed climate. And Mrs. Turner was plagued with hay fever much of the year. Seemingly, Turner continued to have his troubles with the university administration, for he by no means was entirely contented with the policies of President Adams.

Turner bombarded Wilson with many questions about conditions at Princeton, of which he was ignorant. What were the library facilities in American history for research and writing? Were the students earnest in their work? What about graduate study? How many hours of teaching would he be expected to do? Would any religious tests be applied to professors? What was the winter climate at Princeton? What were the living costs there? Turner's family was not an inexpensive joy, for the three little children needed a nurse and he had found it almost impossible to make financial ends meet. What about schools for children? Was society at Princeton so organized that there was exclusiveness?[25]

The implications of Turner's epistle brought Wilson the deepest gratification. The former's frankness caused equal candor on the part of the latter. In Princeton's educational chain the weakest link was the library. Until a new building could be constructed, for which money recently had been given, and shelved with ample books, Turner would have to follow Wilson to the Lenox Library in New York for his research. With the creation of the chair in American history there would be granted a special fund for purchasing needed books. Wilson's prospective colleague was assured that he could continue his study of the Middle Region but add thereto studies in the back country of the South. This region, said Wilson, was as rich in possibilities as any and was crying out for reconstruction.

[25]Turner to Wilson, November 8, 1896, in Wilson Papers.

On the whole, Princeton students were as serious-minded as those found anywhere. True, some were in college merely because their fathers and their grandfathers had attended and went about their work with lazy consciences. A vast majority of them, however, paid close attention to lectures and revealed a thorough liking for any instructor whom they deemed liberal-minded and capable. There were only a few graduate students but there would be more as soon as special instruction could be provided for them. No teacher was overloaded with teaching nor was there any likelihood of anyone's being so burdened. Six to eight hours per week was the maximum. Wilson had only four hours per week; his two classes were two-hour courses. Practically all undergraduate classes were large, so large in fact that the lecture method was the only method of instruction. No member of the teaching staff received more than $3,500 per annum.

No suggestion had been made for departmental reorganization. Doubtless, the entire staff, Wilson wrote, would oppose any plan of change that should threaten to mar the present free play of individuality and independence among them. Though President Francis Patton was a man of marked personal force, he in no way sought to command or intrigue among the faculty. According to the Princeton professor, there was no institution where greater academic freedom existed. No religious test was ever applied at Princeton but all were anxious that every instructor should be earnestly religious.

As a community, Princeton was set high up on foothills and was as healthful and salubrious a place as could be found. Society was in no disagreeable sense exclusive. Social intercourse within the college circle was free, natural, and delightful. Newcomers need have no fear that they would be received otherwise than most cordially. "Schools for children! Ah! there's the rub!" confessed Wilson. Adequate schools did not exist in Princeton, at least for girls. The Wilsons were puzzled as to what to do with their three bright daughters, so far as a school was concerned. Thus far Ellen Wilson had taught them at home. Living costs were rather high. "Average [annual] rental was $500.00; servants $12 to $16 per month; groceries about the same as elsewhere—meat 18-20¢ per pond, milk 5-8¢ per quart."[26]

[26]Wilson to Turner, November 15, 1896, in Turner Collection.

Turner read Wilson's letter with deep thought and discussed its contents with his life's companion. Before he could reply, he saw an account of Professor William M. Sloan's departure from Princeton for a chair in American history at Columbia University. This made indefinite the question as to who Turner's colleague would be, were he to go to Princeton, and added another quandary to his problem. He could not be indifferent to the personalities of those with whom he would work. Library facilities at Madison were of the best and could not be relinquished without very clear reason. With Wilson's statement of rents and provisions before him, the University of Wisconsin professor concluded that there was no financial gain involved in his moving. Recently, in Chicago, Turner's physician had informed him that his catarrhal colds were much improved. As the Westerner expressed it, the problem boiled itself down to this: should he exchange a library advantage for the dignity of a professorship at Princeton, for the stimulus of a more inspiring contact with the intellectual activity of the seaboard and for companionship with Wilson. Could his friend manage a private invitation from the trustees without Turner's committing himself to accept in advance? He hoped so.

Turner's faith in his native West he revealed with vivid strokes. "There is an atmosphere of creative activity in the West," he wrote, "and now that it has economic foundation I look for the West to turn its youthful and vigorous enthusiasm and initiation into university lines." The men who rose with the uplift would have an influential and important place in American educational life. "This may be dreamful," Turner confessed, "but it is a persistent thought with me." The University of Wisconsin was fitted by nature for a commanding place in this renaissance; it was growing with the West; for American history it had remarkable advantages.[27]

Although Turner's reply was almost a refusal, Wilson would not be defeated so easily. The latter could not believe that his former student was unwilling, as he seemed, to come to Princeton. As for money, it was easily made in the eastern magazine and lecture region. Wilson had not written when he felt disinclined; he had spoken much oftener than he wanted to, and he

[27]Turner to Wilson, November 27, 1896, in Wilson Papers.

had found no difficulty in adding $1,500 to his yearly income when he chose. As to the possibility of placing in Turner's hands an assurance of being called before he decided to accept, Wilson would consult President Patton. "Meanwhile . . . " concluded the Princetonian, "my dear Turner . . . get ready for your final decision."[28]

But Turner continued to reason. He could anticipate continued success in his chair at the University of Wisconsin and regardless of what Wilson wrote, uncertainty abounded for him at Princeton. A library for a historian was the *sine qua non*. What did Wilson do in the way of research for his biography of Washington which Turner had recently read and appreciated most highly. Was it possible to make use of the New York or Philadelphia libraries every day or so when investigating for subsequent historical writing?

When Wilson informed his friend at Madison that Princeton needed a man in European history in addition to an American historian, Turner's attitude changed at once. In the strongest terms possible he informed Wilson of Professor Haskins' virtues as a scholar and a teacher. He would consider the fact that he and Haskins were to continue together as one of the most attractive elements in any proposal to go elsewhere.

But the finances of the Princeton proposition plagued Turner. He realized that he would not be as fortunate as Wilson in earning money outside his professional responsibilities. He was fatigued of being worried over the family budget and of having his freedom of work checked by the necessity of managing some project for keeping his domestic ship rightside up. Like the overwhelming majority of teachers, Turner was not eager for riches, but he would be glad to feel that his modest household expenditures could be off his mind.[29]

With sadness did Wilson enlighten Turner that the Board of Trustees had rejected the former's plans for the creation of a history department. In fact, there was likely to be less money for current expenses the next year than the current year. He was chagrined with the sudden timidity of the Princeton trustees.

[28]Wilson to Turner, November 30, 1896, in Turner Collection.
[29]Turner to Wilson, December 3, 1896, in Wilson Papers.

Would not Turner be patient, hold the matter under advisement until he could wring something out of the board. "Our President," confided Wilson, "does not bolster us by having a mistaken policy; he daunts us by having no will or policy at all."[30]

Wilson handed the letter to his wife, Ellen, who enlarged upon the domestic problems that a professor must meet at Princeton.[31] The Wilson monthly statement averaged: food and lights, $100.00; servants, $29.00; rent, $42.00; coal, $12.00; water, $4.00—a total of $187.00. The Wilson family, with two servants, averaged ten people. When the Wilson family, wrote Ellen Wilson, was the size of the Turner household the food and lights averaged only $65.00 per month.

Wilson had proposed for Turner a salary of $3,500, and he hoped to extract from the trustees a definite promise to raise it to $4,000 in two years.

> May I add [continued Mrs. Wilson] that you really could not *help* making at least $500.00 a year more—people clamour so for lectures and articles! It would be a great mistake on your part to suppose that Mr. Wilson is their only victim. All who have any use whatever of tongue or pen are seized upon! Mr. Wilson makes $1,500 every year; and last year [1895] when we were building, and he really tried himself, he made $4,000 extra —and almost killed himself doing it![32]

Turner and his wife were delighted with the interest shown by Mrs. Wilson in their coming East. They were agreed that Ellen Wilson, like only Gladstone, could make a budget interesting.

Ever interested in what Wilson was writing and always reading everything that flowed from his friend's prolific pen, Turner praised the Princetonian. "What a tremendous grist you have turned out this last year," complimented Turner. He hoped Wilson had not really overworked but he was quite apprehensive when he reflected upon the amount of work that Wilson had done besides his class duties. Frankly, Turner admitted, "I don't see how you do it." Only recently had the Westerner found time to read Wilson's widely acclaimed Princeton address of October 21. Because the speech possessed real human ideals, the professor

[30]Wilson to Turner, December 15, 1896, in Turner Collection.
[31]Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (New York, 1927), II, 43.
[32]Wilson to Turner, December 15, 1896, in Turner Collection.

at Madison had been deeply stirred. "If Princeton could revive her past," Turner added, "the past of Madison and Witherspoon and be especially effective in furnishing us with leadership today, it would be a service of profound importance. I think that it is in the universities that we must look for this development, but the prospect in most of them is not bright."[33]

On December 29, 1896, Turner's paper, "The West as a Field for Historical Study," was read before the American Historical Association meeting in New York. In several letters to Wilson written shortly before the annual convention, Turner expressed regret that he was too busy to make such a long trip.[34] Turner's paper contained certain inquiries about the West and answers to them. Such interrogations as why the West should be studied, the more significant historical problems of the West, the location of the proper materials for study and how best to utilize these materials were foremost in Turner's thinking. This leading Western historian invited study of the geographic, the economic, the political, the social, and all other phases of Western development. Though quite brief, as such papers go, this paper is interesting in that it reveals Turner's conviction that all phases of history must be studied.[35] Definitely, he was a pluralist in establishing the proper perspective in American history.

Among those commenting on Turner's paper was Wilson. Amid the applause of the audience, Wilson spoke of Turner as one who gains "the affection of every student of history by being able to do what very few men manage to do, to combine the general plan and conception with the minute examination of particulars; who is not afraid of the horrid industry of his task, and who can yet illuminate that industry by knowing the goal to which it is leading him, and the general plan by which it should be done."

To those in the audience from educational institutions located along the Atlantic Seaboard, Wilson pointedly stated that all must get used to the idea that they did not constitute the nation here on the Eastern Coast. Unpleasant though the thought may

[33]Turner to Wilson, December 18, 1896, in Wilson Papers.
[34]Turner to Wilson, December 3, December 18, December 27, 1896, *ibid.*
[35]*American Historical Association Report* (1896), I, 281-87.

be, they must prepare their intellectual stomachs for the fact; for it had to be digested. The Westerners had torn aside the veil of old administrations, especially Andrew Jackson's, and determined to learn what was so private, so clannish, about the government. Men like Turner who were taking the lead in establishing the proper perspective in our history should be respected and loved.[36]

Turner's apprehension over Wilson's overwork was well founded. For months in 1896, Wilson's health was of grave concern to many. Neuralgia had affected his right shoulder, arm, and hand. A trip to Europe, Wilson's first, in the summer of 1896 had mended him somewhat. By March, 1897, he could grind out a letter on his typewriter to Turner with his left hand. As the most chagrined and mortified fellow on this continent, Wilson informed his friend at Madison that President Patton and *some* of the Princeton trustees, after giving him to understand that a chair of American history would be created, had decided against such a move. Their reason—a lack of funds. These gentlemen did not intend to treat Wilson shabbily but the blow, he wrote, was none the less distressing. He was mortified to have disturbed Turner about the matter. With all his heart, Wilson hoped that he was not permanently cheated of the realization of his ardent desire to have "you, my dearest Turner" for a colleague. The letter was cut short because Wilson's left hand flagged and he was sick at heart.[37]

Turner consoled Wilson over the outcome of their migration correspondence. He admitted that Princeton as portrayed by Wilson seemed attractive and in addition the prospect of having Wilson for a colleague would have made a very difficult choice for him. Perhaps, concluded Turner, it was after all a lady-like act for the fates to settle it for him. He would treasure the incident as a proof of Wilson's high regard.[38]

Although these two distinguished historians were not destined ever to teach in the same university, they continued to be fast friends. When Professor and Mrs. Turner lost their children—a little girl and a little boy—within one year and were deeply

[36]*Ibid.*, pp. 292-96.
[37]Wilson to Turner, March 31, 1897, in Turner Collection.
[38]Turner to Wilson, April 3, 1897, in Wilson Papers.

grieved, Wilson sent Turner a long letter of sympathy and condolence.[39] Saddened over the deaths of his little ones, Turner was deeply concerned over his wife's condition, whose "poor little body could not stand so heavy a load" of bereavement.[40]

In the early dawn of the twentieth century, Albert B. Hart of Harvard became editor of a collaboratively written series of books —*The American Nation Series*. Turner and Wilson were each invited to contribute a volume to this series. Turner accepted and became the author of *The Rise of the New West, 1819-1829,* one one of the best-written books of the entire series of twenty-eight volumes. There was no one on Hart's list of authors with whom Wilson felt he had anything like the same sense of comradeship, as with Turner. But the Easterner had his work cut out for himself and was forced to say no.

This work—*The History of the American People*—was not to be published in a one-volume edition, as Wilson hoped. To Turner he bemoaned his contract with Harpers, in which he forfeited this privilege and exclaimed, "may the Lord have mercy on it." His plans in writing this book had undergone transformations many times, under the mysterious dispensations of Providence. The book, however, would be as good as he knew how to make it, and that for all its painful defects.[41]

For the first time in their friendship Wilson revealed to Turner a long-treasured ambition. He was forty-five years of age recently, and during the period between forty-five and fifty-five a man ought to do the work into which he expects to put most of himself. Wilson loved history and believed there were few things so directly rewarding and worthwhile as to scan the history of one's own country with a careful eye and write of it with the all-absorbing desire to get its cream and spirit out. But after all, continued Turner's friend at Princeton, "I was born a politician, and must be at the task for which, by means of my historical writing, I have all these years been in training." If he finished at fifty-five, he would have fifteen richly contemplative

[39]Apparently this letter has been lost, but Turner to Wilson, March 12, 1900 (*ibid.*), thanks Wilson for his recent letter and speaks of its nature.

[40]Turner to Wilson, March 12, 1900, *ibid.*

[41]Wilson to Turner, January 21, 1902, in Turner Collection.

years left, if the Lord were good to him. "But, then, the Lord may prefer to be good to the world!" prophetically concluded Wilson.[42]

By the summer of 1902, Turner had become director of the School of History at the University of Wisconsin, and Wilson was delighted. Moreover, Turner's contribution to the *American Nation Series* was beginning to shape up. At Princeton, Wilson had just been unanimously elected by the trustees to the presidency of his Alma Mater and Turner welcomed this latest news of his friend. Shortly, Wilson's *History of the American People* was to appear. As Wilson wrote, he was forty-five. Turner was almost five years younger. Now in middle age, both of these distinguished men were much engaged in their respective careers. Under such conditions their correspondence was discontinued. But as busy as they were to remain in the years ahead they always cherished their youthful years when they were professionally associated as teacher and student, when they found time for the exchange of letters, and when they both were so intensely interested in developing what became the Turner thesis of American historical interpretation.[45]

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Wilson to Turner, June 25, 1902, *ibid.*

[44] Turner to Wilson, July 1, 1902, in Wilson Papers.

[45] For some months during the second term of Wilson's administration, Professor William E. Dodd of the University of Chicago lived in the White House while he wrote a biography of President Wilson—*Woodrow Wilson and His Work* (New York, 1920). In writing of Wilson's early interest in American history, Professor Dodd wrote to Professor Turner about the latter's youthful relations with Wilson. See William E. Dodd to Frederick J. Turner, October 3, 1919; and Turner's reply, Frederick J. Turner to William E. Dodd, October 7, 1919; both in William E. Dodd Papers, Library of Congress.

SMALL & SUNDRY

Virginia Jerseymen (c.1800)

"Several families from *New Jersey* were settled in the neighbourhood [of 'Pohoke' plantation, near Newgate, Prince William County]. The characters of men are best illustrated by comparison, and it may not be useless to compare the *Jersey* man with the native *Virginian.*

"The *New Jersey Man* put his hand to the plough; the *Virginian* only inspects the work of his farm. The *New Jersey Man* lives with the strictest economy, and very seldom visits or receives visits. The *Virginian* exceeds his income, loves to go abroad, and welcomes his guests with the smiles of hospitality. The *New Jersey Man* turns every horse out to labour, and walks whither he has to go on business; the *Virginian* thinking it degrading to be seen on foot, has always his riding nag saddled and fastened to the fence. The *New Jersey Man* is distinguished by his provincial dialect, and seldom enlarges his mind, or transfers his attention to others; the *Virginian* is remarkable for his colloquial happiness, loses no opportunity of knowledge, and delights to shew his wit at the expence of his neighbour. Neither a dancing-master, a pedlar, or a maker of air balloons, was ever encouraged by a *New Jersey Man;* but on a *Virginian* they never fail to levy contributions. The treasury of the pedlar is in vain laid open to the eyes of the *New Jersey Man;* neither the brilliant water of the diamond, the crimson flame of the ruby, nor the lustre of the topaz, has charms to allure him; but the *Virginian,* enamoured of ornament, cannot gaze on them with impunity; he empties his coffers of every dollar to adorn the apparel of his wife and daughters." John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half* [1798-1802] *in the United States* (1803), pp. 366-68. Contributed by Jane Carson.

Salem

Nineteenth-century travelers in America usually give lengthy and glowing (though not always favorable) descriptions of New York City and then hurry along in their travels and in their texts to the new cities of the West, or to the buffalo and Indian country beyond the Mississippi. It is pleasant to find occasionally a traveler who took the time to see and enjoy a New Jersey scene. Such a visitor was Charles J. Latrobe who wrote a charming account of his travels in this country. The following paragraphs from *The Rambler in North America* (New York, 1835), II, 68-70, describe, appreciately, what Latrobe saw in Salem and its vicinity:

"Circumstances not worth explaining here, led me to make a winter and a summer excursion to another part of the Union, where there was more, perhaps than in any other to the South of Long Island, to remind me of 'merry England.'

"You are aware that the Swedes

had in very early times attempted to settle colonies on the shores of the Delaware, much to the discomfort of their Dutch rivals here and on the waters of New-York.

"They seem to have made choice of the rich low tracts of land on either side of that deep Bay; to have built their little forts, mounted their few pieces of cannon, and sat down with the best will in the world to sow and reap, in spite of the bites of the musquitoes and the grumbling of their neighbors. They were a hardy persevering race—but had to yield to British rule in process of time; and here their descendants are still distinguishable among the inhabitants of New-Jersey and Delaware. In spite of their monotony and low situation, there is something in the settled appearance and steady cultivation observable in these parts which is truly delightful, after the eye has become satiated for the time with the unfinished, raw, and unpoetic features of the scarcely reclaimed surface of the country.

"Cross the Delaware for instance, either from Newcastle, near the site of Fort Casimir, or from Delaware City and enter the mouth of Salem Creek, brimfull, winding like a snake to and fro among the level, green, grassy meadows:—somewhere at the entrance, among the tall rank grass, where now you see the marsh blackbird disporting himself with his gay eqaulettes, stood, in the old times to which I had alluded, the redoubted Fort Elsinbourg, called at a latter time Fort Mosehettoesburg; from the fact that the musquitoes did what the Dutch could not do; that is, drive out the garrison and make them seek another point to defend. I have searched for its site in vain, along the low shores of the Delaware. The plough has passed over it.

"Some few miles up the creek lies Salem, a snug little, out-of-the-way town—the market of a rich and widely cultivated tract; with a goodly number of substantial families of Swedish and English descent, all able to trace their genealogy up for a dozen generations, dwelling in the houses their forefathers built, cultivating their farms, and adding yearly to their breadth of territory, by land reclaimed from the Bay, or by soil scratched from its depths. Here and there in the vicinity, on the borders of clumps of forest, abounding with sweet-gum, oak, and maple, you stumble upon grey substantial mansions built a century and a half ago, of imported brick, and in the fashion of the mother countries;—with the date of erection, and many a diamond-shaped ornament depicted on the gable-ends in glazed brick. Round them, poplars, and willows, and orchards, where rows of aged trees overshadow the dark green sod, give further token of a long period of quiet.

"In the town itself, with its neat rows of comfortable brick or clapboard houses, there is an air of comfort and repose very unusual in the country in general. Roses and honeysuckles and jessamines, garland the tidy doorways, which often open immediately upon clean car-

peted parlours. Between the dwellings are interposed many a pretty garden and orchard; and the bricked pavements in front are shaded by rows of fine acacia, willows, and sycamore. On every side, as before remarked, you see much to remind you of England, and I may yet mention the little old village church,* standing apart, surrounded by decent tombstones, with a porch covered with the beautiful trumpet-flower; and though last, not least, the number of bright-faced children with blue eyes and flaxen hair.

"In the demeanour of the inhabitants there is much of that homely, hearty, simplicity found in spots removed out of the immediate influence of the vortex of the world. Hospitality and frank good sense are met with in every house. The few families of Swedish descent had degenerated, it is said for many years, in consequence of intermarrying from time immemorial, till fortunately an old gentlemen died very rich, left a will about which there arose an interminable lawsuit; and from that time the deadly feud which ensued, forced the young men and maidens to begin to marry without the pale, and the race regained its pristine strength and beauty . . ." (Contributed by Fred Shelley.)

Mastodon (1845)

"The Newark Advertiser says that an entire Mastodon skeleton has just been completed in that city from the bones recently found in a small pond on the top of the mountain near Hackettstown, Warren county, N. Jersey. It measures 22 feet in length, about 11 feet high, and 16 feet in girth. From the fact that the bones of six of the huge animals were found embedded together in the deposite of a pond on the highest grounds of the state, (evidently of different ages, from the calf up,) the proprietors conjecture that they perished there in the flood. One of the skeletons crumbled to pieces when first exposed to the air; parts of the other five are preserved. The one that has been carefully put together is nearly perfect, and presents a striking idea of the huge dimensions of that great monster of the animal world, which probably became extinct in the general deluge." *Niles' National Register,* July 19, 1845, p. 310. Contributed by Miriam V. Studley.

Presidential visit (1817)

The new president in 1817 was a Virginian, as were three of the four men who had held the office before him. Soon after his inauguration (on March 4th in those days), he made a trip to the northeastern part of the country. Officially his purpose was to inspect military fortifications, navy yards, etc., but unofficially the visit served to allay fears or qualms of disaffected areas like New England,

*"Built many years ago by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in London; and lately repaired after a long period of disuse and neglect."—Author's footnote. This is St. John's Episcopal Church, founded in 1722; the first minister was Rev. John Holbrooke.

where the population had supported the War of 1812 less than whole-heartedly. The trip soon became a triumphal progress. Certainly this was true in New Jersey. Two small books describe the events of the three and a half months' tour. Printed below, from the better of the two accounts, is the record of what happened in the Garden State:*

"Having first visited the Mint of the United States, on Saturday, the 7th inst. the President left Philadelphia, and accompanied by general Swift, Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, the district attorney for Pennsylvania, and his private secretary, Mr. Mason, proceeded on his route towards Trenton, the capital of New-Jersey, and the scene of his own individual gallantry, in the memorable attack, made by general Washington, at that place, upon the Hessians under colonel Rahl, on the 25th and 26th December 1776. He reached the bridge, which crosses the Delaware below that city, sometime after sunset, and, his approach having been anticipated, he was received there by the municipal authorities, attended by a large concourse of citizens, and the volunteer troops of Trenton, under the command of captain Rossell. Approximating the ground upon which he had bled in the defence of his country, at a brilliant epoch of the revolution, the feelings with which the President must have been inspired, may readily be conceived. To the successful result of the battle of Trenton, he had greatly contributed, in the capacity of a lieutenant, at a six gun battery; and was severly wounded in the shoulder, in a charge afterwards made upon the enemy's artillerists, in which they were driven from their post, with the loss of two pieces. With this wound he was confined upwards of two months, at the mansion of Judge Wynkoop, in Bucks county (Pennsylvania), at an inconsiderable distance from the scene of action. Forty years had elapsed since the period of that important and memorable event, and the subaltern officer, who was then distinguished by his active patriotism, now approached the theatre of his youthful enterprise, as the head of the nation, whose independence he had contributed to establish.

"His arrival was announced by the ringing of bells, and the discharge of a piece of field artillery, under the direction of captain Yard. From the bridge he was conducted by the military escort, to his quarters, in the city, in front of which a *feu-de-joie* was fired. The civil authorities having soon after called, to offer their respects, the honourable Mr. [Robert] McNeely, mayor, and Charles Ewing, esq. recorder of the city, and alderman Broadhurst, Taylor, and Smith, were presented to the President, when the recorder delivered the following extemporaneous address.

"'Sir—The mayor and city council, through us the citizens of Trenton, present to you their most un-

*A Narrative of a Tour of Observation, Made During the Summer of 1817, by James Monroe . . . (Philadelphia, 1818), pp. 28-32. The other account is found in *The Tour of James Monroe, President of the United States, in the Year 1817* . . . (Hartford, 1818), pp. 63-67.

feigned respects; congratulate you on your arrival; and give you a most cordial welcome to this city, the scene, sir, of some of the services you have rendered our country. We most sincerely wish you the enjoyment of health, a long life, and a prosperous administration.'

"To which Mr. Monroe, immediately replied:—'That he felt very sensibly, the kind attention on the part of the authorities of the city of Trenton; the place where the hopes of the country were revived, in the war of the revolution, by a signal victory obtained by the troops under the command of general Washington, after a severe and disastrous campaign. That he was well acquainted with the patriotism of the citizens of Trenton, and indeed of Jersey, for none suffered more, or displayed greater patriotism, in our revolutionary contest.' He concluded, 'I beg you to accept my best wishes for your continued prosperity and happiness.'

"The remainder of the evening was occupied, in receiving the congratulatory visits of the most distinguished citizens, and several public officers, among whom was captain Charles Stewart of the navy. On the following morning, Sunday, the President, accompanied by his suite, attended divine service, at the [First] Presbyterian meeting-house.†

"On Monday, the 9th, he left Trenton, escorted by the light infantry, and two troops of horse from the neighbourhood, under captains Smith and Howell, who proceeded with him several miles on his route. As he approached New Brunswick, he was met by a committee of citizens, at the head of which was chief justice [Andrew] Kirkpatrick, and by several companies of military, by whom he was attended into the town. On his arrival at the inn, where the procession halted, the chief justice presented, in a short address, the congratulations of the citizens of New Brunswick, upon his arrival among them, and assured him of their best wishes, for his personal welfare, and the successful execution of the important trust confided to him, as the chief magistrate of the nation.

"After remaining a short time, the President pursued his route, still attended by the military, and accompanied by governor [Isaac H.] Williamson, and some gentlemen from Elizabethtown, who met him at New Brunswick. He arrived the same day at Elizabethtown Point, whence he passed to Staten Island, in the steam boat Atalanta, and at half past six o'clock reached the seat of the vice-president [Daniel] Tompkins. The revenue cutter Active, under captain Cahoone, fired a salute on the occasion, which was immediately succeeded by two salutes from the batteries at the Narrows. From the rapidity with which his excellency travelled, he was much fatigued and exhausted, and accordingly he spent the whole of the following day at the vice-president's residence, in a private manner . . . " (Contributed by Fred Shelley.)

†Rev. Dr. Samuel B. How was the pastor from 1816 to 1821.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

THIS summer when we pack our suitcases to go on vacation by car, plane, train or liner, it may be of interest to compare our trip with one taken in July, 1825. There were no suitcases to pack in those days nor any of the modes of travel mentioned. When Margaret Babcock and her aunt, Abigail Arden, set out from New York they had to journey to Quebec by stagecoach, canal boat and river steamer.

Among the Newark Museum's possessions is a small diary with a marbled paper cover, in which Margaret kept a neatly written record of her journey. The pages of the diary are an English paper bearing the watermark of James Whatman, Turkey Mill, 1821. Established in 1731 at Maidstone in Kent, the Whatman mill still produces choice papers.

Margaret Antoinette Babcock, whose portrait by Charles Cromwell Ingham is owned by the Museum, was born in 1804. Like many young ladies of her day she suffered from tuberculosis and died at the age of twenty-two. In February of 1823, Margaret and her aunt Abigail sailed to the island of St. Croix in the West Indies, hoping the trip might improve the girl's health. It was a "boisterous and disagreeable" voyage of seventeen days. Presumably the trip to Canada two years later was for the same purpose, but comparing modes of travel then and now it seems like an extremely rugged journey for a delicate young girl.

What baggage did the ladies take? Probably there was a small wooden trunk covered with cowhide or leather, to be tucked under the owner's feet in a stagecoach or placed on the open deck of a river steamer. The ladies may also have carried a paper-covered bandbox or a slender carpet bag. The New Jersey Historical Society owns the trunk used by Abbie Ward Brown for her trousseau when she married Joseph Davis Coe in 1825. The little trunk is covered with fine tooled leather ornamented with round-headed nails which also form the initials AWB on the cover. Striped wallpaper provides a lining. Hanging in the Historical Society are the portraits of Abbie and Joseph Coe, evidently painted shortly after their marriage. Another trunk of the period is covered with cowhide and lined with sheets from the Morristown newspaper, the *Palladium*, dated July 23, 1828. Both trunks are illustrated, together with a carpetbag whose lining of blue glazed cotton provides two separate partitions, and a cardboard bonnet box with a loop of linen cord on the side by which it may be carried. One wonders how such supplies as were deemed necessary for travel in 1825 would compare with the essentials listed in Mantle Fielding's *Travel Guide* for 1955-56.

Margaret's diary begins with the statement, "Saturday 13th of July left N. York for Albany, arrived

there the next day and after resting a few hours set off for Skenectady [*sic*]—the road from Albany to the latter place is miserable." One wishes that Margaret had been more explicit, but it is safe to assume that the trip to Albany was by steamboat, regular trips up the Hudson having started in 1807. A steam-powered boat covered in twenty-four to thirty hours the distance that required three days by stage.

The journey from Albany to Schenectady would have been by stagecoach along the Mohawk Valley. Forerunner of the modern bus, the stagecoach was the only swift means of overland transportation. The journey was divided into stages where at designated taverns or "stage stations" the horses were changed. The times at which a stagecoach arrived at or departed from a "station" were as carefully drawn up as train or bus schedules are today. For example, the *Sentinel of Freedom* in 1826 advertised "Cheap and pleasant *Traveling*" by stagecoach between Newark and Elizabeth-Town, stating the exact hours at which coaches left the corner of Broad and Bank Streets, Newark, and arrived at the Landing to connect with steamboats from Amboy, New Brunswick, and Philadelphia, or boats to and from New York. These advertisements ended with the assurance that stages were "punctual to the hour, and carefully transact any business that may be entrusted to them."

A turnpike was a busy thoroughfare, what with wagoners driving six and eight-horse teams; drovers herding cattle, sheep, or pigs; tin-peddlers in their jingling wagons; lone travelers on horseback. Whatever the type of traffic, one paid toll at intervals along the turnpike just as is done on our throughways, today. The "miserable" road to Schenectady was part of the Buffalo Highway laid out by surveyors in a pioneer effort to open a route to the Great Lakes. Perhaps sections of the Turnpike were "corduroy," so named from the logs felled and laid across the road in marshy places which sometimes extended for miles.

"Monday 15th crossed the Mohawk above Skenectady, continued up the North side all the way, the Canal lies on the South . . . The South side of the Mohawk is more highly cultivated and much more romantic than the North." Highway and Erie Canal alike passed through the village of Little Falls and Margaret noted in her fine penmanship, "I was much pleased with the little falls, several handsome buildings in the vicinity, the church is perfectly circular. The soil is good and the farmers in the neighborhood of the Mohawk are quite wealthy. The German Flats are beautiful and very extensive. They are laid out in regular squares and took their name from some Germans who settled there."

Margaret Babcock does not mention the Dutch inns that dispensed hospitality to coach guests nor the Dutch houses with cellar kitchens which greatly impressed a young bride traveling the same route in 1818. Travelers were lodged at night at an inn or a hostelry, but for a mid-day meal might they have stopped at an "ordinary"? The latter was a tavern where one could get food but not lodging. In some private homes it was possible for a

Early luggage from the New Jersey Historical Society collection.

traveler to be put up over night and provided with breakfast.

"Reached Utica at 8 o'clock Monday evening after a ride of 96 miles, and was disappointed with its appearance. There are two Banks and a number of fine buildings, but its situation is low and considered somewhat unhealthy. Wednesday morning we took one of the Canal Boats, a very easy but tedious mode of travelling, the Canal is 40 feet wide and 4 deep, the boats are drawn by two horses one before the other. They change horses every 8 miles and go at the rate of 4 an hour; 88 miles from Utica is Weeds Basin [Weedsport], here terminates the passage of the Packet boats."

On July 4th, 1817, ground was broken at Rome, New York, for the Erie Canal. At that time there was not even a stage line between Albany and Buffalo, which was then a mere village. By October of 1819, the section of the Canal between Rome and Utica was completed. In June, 1825, water from Lake Erie was admitted for the first time into the western section of the Canal but this section was not ready for traffic until autumn. This explains why in July of 1825 our travelers could not travel on the Erie Canal beyond Weedsport. By any chance, did they meet the floating book store, maintained by the Phinneys of Cooperstown, that traveled the Erie Canal?

"Thursday, 18th of July, we arrived at Auburn & were delighted with the village, a general degree of neatness prevails throughout. The prison is a fine and very extensive building, there are 236 convicts at present, more than half had not seen a human being in the light of the sun for 8 months. Upon enquiring why such strict discipline was observed, I was informed by the keeper they were old offenders, and they wished to punish them severely to prevent the necessity of their being again imprisoned.

"Friday we crossed Cayuga Bridge, which is noted for its extraordinary length, being 1 mile long . . .

"Saturday night we lodged at Lewiston, and Sunday at 10 saw the great falls of Niagara. We rambled about Goat Island, it being quite a romantic spot on the American side, we then crossed just below the falls to the British side where we had a most splendid view. They [the falls] are indeed truly sublime, no person can form a correct idea of the grandeur of the scene without beholding it. The view from Table Rock on the British side is remarkably fine. The rainbow extending from side to side is exceedingly beautiful, and the spray rising in columns & clouds of smoke, together with the roaring of the cataract, forms a most magnificent spectacle. In fact the powers of description fail & words become inadequate to describe the feeling that is produced by this wonderful production of Nature. Monday we remained at Brown's, strolling over the battlegrounds, etc.

"Tuesday 23rd passed through Queenstown. There again we rode over classic ground. I was presented with a branch of the tree under which General Brock fell. The town of Niagara, formerly called New-Ark, is now a considerable place." The Canadian town of Niagara on Lake Ontario was settled in 1780. It was renamed NewArk in 1792 when the capital of Upper Canada was established there temporarily.

For four years the legislature met in NewArk, which is now known as Niagara-on-the-Lake.

"The same day at 6 o'clock we crossed the [Niagara] river to Lewiston, in order to get on board the Steamboat for Ogdensburgh . . .

"Wednesday—we landed in order to see the Genessee falls, dined at Rochester, and walked to the falls. They amply repaid us for our trouble, are extremely broken and picturesque, the water rushes over shoots of rock, almost forming a staircase in some places . . .

"Friday, 26th, landed at our destined port where we remained but a few hours, when we chartered a boat to take us to Lachine. Owing to adverse winds we did not reach there till Monday morning. My expectations were not answered with respect to the rapids . . . At night we went ashore, met with wretched accommodations, but the most indifferent were preferable to sleeping in an open boat, with merely an awning around us. The road from Lachine to Montreal is really beautiful, it affords some of the finest views I ever beheld. At six we drove up to the City Tavern, Montreal [this was on Monday, July 29th] . . .

"All the houses in Montreal are built of stone, 2 stories high, the finest are owned and occupied by wealthy merchants of the town. The streets are commonly speaking not wider than New Street in Nyork. The pavement is irregular and dirty."

Throughout her diary, Margaret's account is strikingly similar to that of John Maude who covered the same route in 1800. In his *Visit to the Falls of Niagara,* recorded in 1800 and published 1826 in London, Maude writes of obtaining a "bateau" at Kingston in which he and his friends journeyed to Lachine. The "bateau" was an open boat, manned by four French Canadian boatmen who sang as they rowed. The passengers were protected merely by an awning of oilcloth. Like Margaret, Maude was not impressed by the Rapids, but he enjoyed "the pleasant ride along the River" from Lachine to Montreal.

"Thursday August 1st—Last evening stepped on board the 'Car of Commerce' for Quebec. Found the steamboat extremely neat and commodious, the Captain uncommonly polite & obliging." The steam-powered ships on the Lakes and the St. Lawrence River, like the steamboats on the Hudson, stemmed from Robert Fulton's success with the *Clermont* some twenty years before.

"Friday—We are now in the celebrated city of Quebec. Nothwithstanding the morning being rather unpleasant, we went to the parade ground, and walked through the fort. This town is an entire fortress (indeed I should deem it impregnable), it is divided into two towns, upper & lower, in the lower General Montgomery fell, the upper town is built on a rock on the side of a mountain and it has a very singular appearance. The roofs, as in Montreal, are covered with tin. We went in the Canadian style (a Calash) to the falls of Montmorenci."

Here, abruptly, the diary ends. According to family tradition, Margaret Babcock slept between damp sheets and caught a severe cold which hastened her end early in 1826.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

For six years now the sun has smiled upon our New Jersey Historical Conferences—smiled more than ever on May 19th. On that Saturday we were blessed with a virtually cloudless day and a good turnout for the sixth annual Historical Conference at Bridgeton. New Jersey's deep south provided an extremely friendly and hospitable atmosphere, symbolized by Mrs. Howard B. Hancock, president of the Cumberland County Historical Society, whose charm and sterling leadership guaranteed the day's success. To her and her host of wonderfully willing and efficient associates, the New Jersey Historical Society owes a debt of gratitude.

Headquarters for the event was the Central Methodist Church and a very adequate place it was, too. The morning session, presided over by Dr. Richard P. McCormick, was held in the church proper, where comfortable seating and good acoustics provided a receptive atmosphere for the three speakers, Dr. David B. Tyler, visiting professor at the University of Delaware from Wagner College, Staten Island, who spoke on "The American Clyde"; Dr. John A. Munroe, also of the University of Delaware, who addressed the gathering on "The Unity of the Delaware River Valley"; and Mr. John T. Cunningham of the Newark *News* who developed the theme of the great need for "The Oneness of New Jersey."

A delightful luncheon was served by the ladies of the church in the lower social room and appropriate remarks and introductions were made by Mrs. Hancock. Then during the early afternoon, three simultaneous sessions were in progress. State Senator W. Howard Sharp presided over a meeting which featured Arthur Pierce, associate editor of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* who spoke on the "Story of the Wharton Tract," and the Hon. Francis A. Stanger of Cedarville, who gave a colorful speech on "Cumberland County." Meanwhile in other areas of the church, Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen introduced Mrs. Martha Gandy Fales, assistant curator of the Winterthur Museum, who gave an illustrated talk on the collections of that institution, and Mr. Newlin B. Watson presided over a session on "History with Microphone and Camera." Here, Miss Hazel C. Clark of the Burlington Library gave a demonstration talk on "Preserving Our Heritage with a Tape Recorder" and was followed by Mr. Melvin Weig, historian of the Morristown National Historical Park,

who demonstrated "Presenting Our Heritage with Audio-Visual Devices."

Busses and private cars carried the conference guests to Greenwich, upon the conclusion of the afternoon session, where all had an opportunity of viewing the Tea Burners' Monument. In the Wood Mansion, headquarters of the Cumberland County Historical Society, a delicious punch and delightful cakes were served by hostesses in early American costume. The gathering reluctantly drew to a close about 5:00 P.M. and those of us who drove northward left with the pleasant conviction that the conference, if serving no other purpose, had been helpful in developing a spirit of "oneness" within the state.

Two other activities of note transpired during the last few months, one being the annual meeting of the Woman's Branch, held on Wednesday, April 11th. Dispensing with a formal program this year, the ladies, following their meeting, heard Dr. Henry Savage, archivist of Princeton University, extend a cordial invitation to visit Nassau Hall during the celebration of its two-hundredth anniversary, and also brief comments on the Society and its activities from Mr. Shelley, librarian, and from your director. The second activity concerns an exhibition installed by Mr. Wiseman, assistant to the director, in the second-floor north alcove. Completed early in June and titled "Pastimes of the Past," the showing includes a variety of amusements. Represented are numerous parlor games dating from the early nineteenth century, examples of embroidery and samplers, paper dolls, paper cut-outs, and three-dimensional scenes, the stereoscope, a disk-type music box and, approaching more modern times, an Edison horn-type phonograph of 1903, a cabinet-type Victor victrola complete with doors and lid of about 1907, and a 1923 model Radiola with earphones used for fine tuning. All are amusing evidences of a slower pace of life when gas-lit evenings were spent over some hobby or game around the back parlor or kitchen table.

With this installment of the "Director's Diary," I shall be taking leave of a wonderful organization and many fine friends. By publication time, I shall have resigned in anticipation of becoming associated with Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts. I shall take with me many fond memories and a truly magnificent silver dish which was so very generously presented to me by the Board of Trustees. I shall also take with me the knowledge that the Society will continue to develop and grow, for, with a unanimous vote, the Board at their May meeting decided to continue the present scale of activities and authorized a special committee to seek another director. This will be perhaps the fondest memory of all, for during my association with the cultural activities of New Jersey I have become convinced of the need and the grass-roots desire throughout the state for more emphasis and activity in historical fields. Through the action of the Board, the New Jersey Historical Society

will continue to be a leader in these activities and I hope the time is not far distant when either the state or private philanthropy will infuse the necessary financial stimulant to make our Society the truly effective force that New Jersey needs and deserves.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

One of the most vexing problems faced frequently by historically-minded citizens of New Jersey is the rescue and preservation of an historic site or house in danger of being demolished. The Society annually receives many requests for financial aid but, of course, we are helpless. The real answer to this problem lies in securing the backing of the citizens of the local community and aid and support from a local historical group which can help develop momentum for a grass-roots attempt to save the site in question. Such a problem recently arose in connection with Speedwell, the Morristown barn in which Samuel F. B. Morse and Alfred Vail conducted experiments with the telegraph. The property was for many years owned by John Lidgerwood and recently, upon his death, came into the hands of his heirs. Fear was expressed locally that the building might be endangered. The Morris County Historical Society, however, has pledged its support to a move for preservation of the structure. Two members of the Society, Melvin Weig of the Morristown National Historical Park and Charles Schroeder of New Vernon, were appointed a committee to present the Society's stand to other groups and individuals interested in preserving the site and building. Among those reported interested are the county park commission and William Lidgerwood, one of the present owners. The forty-seven-acre estate, on which the barn stands, also contains the main house which dates to pre-Revolutionary days. The estate is valued at $200,000 and is presently on the market.

The Morris County society paid a visit recently to an early home that has been saved. MacCulloch Hall in Morristown, purchased by former Mayor W. Parsons Todd and presently being furnished with appropriate antiques, was opened by him to members of the Morris County organization and to a group from the Lake Hopatcong Historical Society who jointly toured the house and heard Mr. Todd and Mr. Melvin Weig speak.

On June 9th on the shores of Lake Hopatcong was re-enacted the story of the flight of Chief Chincopee and his squaw, Ahmee, immortalized by Longfellow's poem, *Hiawatha,* as part of the first annual Indian Museum Day of the Lake Hopatcong Historical Society. According to the legend, Chincopee and his squaw fled just ahead of the settlement of the area by the white man, and the re-enactment formed part of a pageant in which participants wore authentic reproductions of Indian dress. Also on the program was a lecture by Charles A. Philhower, authority on Indian history, and an exhibition of Indian artifacts. The pageant was

written by Mrs. Alice Apostolik, secretary of the Society.

A number of tours and pilgrimages to historic sites have been held or are being planned. The Camden County Historical Society visited restored Brandywine Battlefield on May 26th. The East Orange Historical Society toured the Springfield area on May 5th, visiting church cemeteries, the Cannon Ball House, the Battle Monument, and Glenmont, the Llewellyn Park home of Thomas A. Edison. The Antique Collectors' Club of Atlantic City toured Absecon Island on June 2nd and the Burlington County Historical Society held their annual pilgrimage on May 26th, visiting the Wharton Tract, Atsion, and Batsto. Plans are being developed by the Cape May Art League for a tour of Cape May County and Cape May City on July 13th. The Paramus Historical and Preservation Society plans a tour of the Ridgewood-Paramus area on October 6th, and the Lake Hopatcong Historical Society in September will explore the route of the old Morris Canal.

Local Rotarians have spearheaded a county-wide campaign in Bergen County to raise funds for their 50th-anniversary project, construction of a museum to house historical items. Their initial goal is $100,000 in a drive for $500,000. They will work closely with the Bergen County Historical Society and twenty-two other Rotary clubs will also sponsor the project. Construction is planned on a site in North Hackensack near the location of the historic Zabriskie-von Steuben house.

Activities in Springfield recently included the annual meeting of the Museums' Council of New Jersey with the Springfield Historical Society as host on April 13th. A business meeting was held in the morning at the Cannonball House, followed by luncheon at the Millburn Inn and an afternoon tour, a visit to the First Presbyterian Church, the Revolutionary Cemetery, the Springfield Battle Monument, and the Sayre house.

During the spring, a number of local historical societies held elections of their governing bodies and officers. Miss Jessie W. Boutillier was elected president of the East Orange Historical Society following an interim appointment after the death of the former president. Miss Elizabeth Davis was elected president of the Madison Historical Society at their annual meeting on May 15th, when Professor Thomas Craven of Princeton University was guest speaker. The Burlington County Historical Society re-elected Mrs. Delia H. Pugh president on May 9th at a meeting at which Arthur Pierce, of Medford Lakes, gave an illustrated talk on the Wharton Tract.

Philatelists congregated at Paterson on March 19th to attend the first-day ceremony of the Alexander Hamilton five-dollar stamp. The ceremony was held to commemorate the 164th anniversary of the creation of the charter of Paterson by the New Jersey legislature. Hamilton as lawyer for the Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures prepared the incorporation

papers in 1791 which led to the founding of the city at the Great Falls of the Passaic. (Note recent PROCEEDINGS article about the Falls.)

SPEAKING OF GIFT HORSES

The Society is eager to develop its manuscript collections pertaining to political figures and governors of New Jersey. Apparently the papers of Governor James F. Fielder (acting-governor 1913-14, governor 1914-17) have not survived as a collection but we should appreciate hearing from anyone who has documents or letters by him which he or she would be willing to present for preservation and use by future historians. These will be increasingly valuable.

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

In four years the excellent department entitled "New Jersey in Print" has become an invaluable feature of the Proceedings, *one not only of current interest but also of increasing usefulness to future historians. Beginning in the present issue, under the new title seen above, this important contribution will be enlarged in scope. To Miss Studley's able listings and reviews of recent publications about the state ("New Jersey in Print") will be added short articles by Fred Shelley concerning some of the rare and unusual items in the Society's library. Mr. Shelley is librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society and Miss Studley is principal New Jersey librarian, Newark Public Library.*

FROM THE LIBRARY

FRED SHELLEY

There are many exciting moments in every day's work in the Society library. The discoveries or re-discoveries of precious manuscripts, rare printed pamphlets, and other materials are experiences to be shared with members. In coming issues, as time and space permit, we propose to describe library holdings, both old and new, and endeavor to give public notice to individual treasures which are safely locked in our vaults. There are letters of Ebenezer Elmer of Bridgeton, descriptions of the countryside in the eighteenth century, the story of a New Jersey woman's books of receipts (recipes) in 1720 among many other items for future use. For this first contribution there is a brief comment on a unique printed item and the transcription of an important Revolutionary War letter.

Shepard Kollock, founder of the *Elizabeth Daily Journal,* is a well-known New Jersey printer and so is Shelly Arnett, a contemporary. Until recently it was thought that they collaborated on only one printing venture, the newspaper *The Political Intelligencer and New-Jersey Advertiser,* published from October 14, 1783, to July 6, 1784, of which our Society possesses the only complete set. Just acquired on exchange from a sister society, however, is an attractive 32-page pamphlet by an unknown author, entitled *The Travels of Fancy: Being a Political, Histor[i]cal, and Moral Account of her Adventures during the Late War. To Which is Added, a Poetical Rhapsody, Addressed to Her by One of Her Lovers* (New Brunswick, 1784). According to Mr. George C. Rockefeller, whose authoritative bibliography of New Jersey imprints before 1800 is nearing completion, this copy is the only one in existence and is unrecorded in any published list. The *Travels of Fancy* has been cataloged and assigned to the Ely Collection of Rare Books in our library.

Josiah Hornblower (1729-1809) needs no introduction in these pages. His son was our first president, and other descendants to this

day serve the Society and the state with distinction. In 1782, an uneasy year when the fighting had stopped but before the treaty of peace had been concluded, Hornblower reported to Governor William Livingston on conditions in the Newark area. The letter is printed below.

Second River 16th Jan. 1782

SIR

The Letter which your Excellency has been pleased to honor me with of the 7 Inst came to hand last Evening.[1] The Warrant which it enclosed for Capt. Ward of Bergen County I have forwarded by a safe hand.[2] The number of Troops to be raised for the County of Essex by the late Act, will I fear if compleated be found insufficient to answer all the good purposes intended. We have no Guards on the Lines here at present, in consequence of which Trade with the enemy goes on very briskly, and those who are commissioned to suppress it, do I fear greatly promote it. They now fetch Goods from the Refugees which they pretend to have captured from them and by some strange construction of the Law, they get all such goods condemned to their own benefit without apprehending any person with them. Baker Hendricks has lately brought large quantities of goods into Newark under those circumstances.[3]

Messrs. John Reed and Tom Smith of Acquehannock[4] are very angry with me, they say—Mr. L. Clarkson has informed them, that I set their carracters in so unfavorable a light to your Excellency as to prevent their obtaining a permission for their Ladies to go into New York. This conduct of Mr. Clarkson's is I think considering my local situation, both unkind and imprudent and in fact untrue, if they do not misrepresent the matter. I am glad to hear that your Excellency has got into agreeable Quarters and that the Duke & Dutchess have not yet destroyed each other & am Sir with great respect

Your Excellency's very obedient Servant

JOSIAH HORNBLOWER

To His Excellency
Governor Livingston

[*Addressed*:] His Excellency William Livingston Esquire / Governor &c &c &c / New Jersey / favor'd by / Mr. Nixon / Jo Hornblower.

[*Endorsed*:] Letter from Mr. / Hornblower 16 Jany 1782.

[1]This letter not located.

[2]Possibly Captain Peter Ward, who was captain of a troop of light-horse and was from Bergen County.

[3]Baker Hendricks had been imprisoned in 1777 on charges of passing counterfeit money. Later, according to E. F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth* (New York, 1868), pp. 502, 510, he was used by Washington as a spy and was allowed to trade with the enemy on Staten Island.

[4]Acquackanonk, now Passaic.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

A UNIQUE item of Jerseyana is featured in the June 1956 issue of *American Heritage.* Reprinted in full (pp. 74-79) is a pamphlet in the National Archives in Washington, which has been exhibited in the New Jersey case in the "Formation of the Union" exhibit. The title reads as follows: *An Narrative of Events as They Occurred from Time to Time in the Revolutionary War, with an Account of the Battles of Trenton, Trenton-Bridge, and Princeton.* The author, and printer, was J. (Joseph) White of Charlestown, Mass., "who was an orderly Sergeant in the regiment of Artillery." Publication date was about 1833, and the pamphlet was written at that time from White's memory of his own participation in the New Jersey battles, and of his stay in winter quarters at Chatham in 1777. The Library of Congress description of the pamphlet mentions a pen-and-ink drawing on the flyleaf representing "the gravestone of J. White, Phipps St. Cemetery." This highly personal narrative has a rare charm and great vividness of expression.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

As I Remember; a Story of Chatham's Libraries. By LYNDA PHILLIPS LUM. (Chatham: Free Public Library, 1955. 18 pages.) Chatham's library has been such an integral part of the community since its beginnings in 1875, that many delightful sidelights on local history and personalities are found in this informal history. The author, as Lynda Phillips, was librarian from 1907 until her marriage in 1924. Mrs. Lum gave the story, written for her friends, to the library in 1954. An inviting format, designed by Frank Petrocelli, and drawings by Leroy C. Baldridge make this an unusually distinguished, though very short, library history.—M.V.S.

The Baylor Massacre. By RENEE LUSSI. (Westwood, N.J.: Renee Lussi, 1956. 7 pages.) Typed manuscript, illustrated with photographs, on the Revolutionary massacre at the present River Vale, N.J.

Bergen County's Early Settlers. By MARGARET S. KMETZ. (Garfield, N.J.: Mrs. George Kmetz, 1956. 3 pages, mimeographed.) Local history in a long poem.

Census Tract Street Index, Newark, New Jersey, 1956. By THE BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, NEW JERSEY EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, TRENTON, N.J. (Newark: Council of Social Agencies, 1956. 68 pages. $2.00.) These census tracts are the basis for population and housing statistics beginning with 1940.

Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies in the United States and Canada, 1956. (Columbus, Ohio: American Association for State and Local History, 1956. 49 pages.) Fifty-two New Jersey societies listed.

Guiding Municipal Growth. (New

Jersey Taxpayers' Association, Inc., 1955. 15 pages.) First of a series designed to help officials and citizens reach the decisions that will ease rather than complicate future tax problems in growing municipalities.

Guiding Municipal Growth: Restoring Urban Value. (New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, Inc., 1955. 4 pages.) Second of a series. Traces from the standpoint of the urban center the changes wrought by the dispersion of population and business, and outlines a constructive approach to overcome their obsolescent effects.

Guiding Municipal Growth: Sewerage. (New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, Inc., 1956. 15 pages.) This guide is intended to help officials and citizens in making sewerage decisions.

Let's Go and See. (New York: Port of New York Authority, 1956. 23 pages.) Sightseeing brochure; "What to see in New Jersey," pp. 14-18, lists museums and historic sites.

A List of Burials and Related Information for the New Providence Presbyterian Church, New Providence, N.J. By Arthur D. Balcom. (Short Hills, N.J.: New Jersey Genesis, 1956.) 48 pages. Photocopy of a handwritten list of tombstone inscriptions, 1746-1941, published by Harold A. Sonn and placed in important libraries.

New Jersey Activities, 1956. (Trenton: State Promotion Section, Department of Conservation and Economic Development, 1956. 38 pages.) Date book lists celebrations, conventions, fairs, sports, exhibits.

The Rutgers Class of 1930, a Listing of Their Whereabouts and Deeds and Even Some Opinions. By David L. Cowen and Ernest E. McMahon. (New Brunswick, 1955. 52 pages.)

Vacation Guide to New Jersey. (Trenton: State Promotion Section, Department of Conservation and Economic Development, 1956.) Colorful brochure includes hunting and fishing, summer theatres, parks and forests, "children's attractions" and full detail on resort towns. State bird, flower, flag, and seal are illustrated.

PERIODICALS

Manuscripts of New Jersey interest are included in recent gifts to the Library of Congress, reported in its *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* for May 1956. Diaries and notebook journals of Dr. Lee De Forest, 1891-1949, throw light on pioneering in radio broadcasting. Dr. De Forest came to Newark in the infancy of radio-operating in 1909, setting up a laboratory and broadcasting station in Boyden Street. The papers of the Reverend Mercer Green Johnston (1869-1954), rector of Trinity Church, Newark, 1912-16, have been presented to the Library of Congress by the clergyman's widow. Mercer Johnston had an active career in the ministry, in Y.M.C.A. work, and in government service, and he carried on a voluminous correspondence with notables of his day. Recent additions have also been made to the papers of Dr. Harry B. Weiss,

who retired recently as head of the Division of Plant Industry in the New Jersey Department of Agriculture. Dr. Weiss is a New Jersey antiquarian, an authority on the history of printing and early industry, who has contributed frequently to the pages of the PROCEEDINGS and authored several books on New Jersey subjects.

The following quotation from the *Jersey Publisher* for January 1956 brings good news to those interested in the use of newspapers as source material.

"Priceless files of historic newspapers dating back to 1837, previously unavailable for research purposes, have now been made available to historians through the efforts of Harry B. Haines, publisher of *The Evening News*, Paterson.

"The old newspaper volumes numbering more than 650, had been stored for years in a Court House vault. Publisher Haines discovered their presence and suggested their transfer to the Historical Society. But state approval was necessary. Roger McDonough, director of the Division of State Library, Archives and History, gave approval for the transfer Nov. 21. The files will be stored in Lambert Castle, headquarters of the Historical Society."

D. Stanton Hammond, president of the Passaic County Historical Society and a member of the New Jersey Historical Society, states that these newspaper volumes afford a chronological day-by-day history of the city of Paterson which should attract historians from all sections of the country. Materials for the study of the history of Paterson are few, owing to two great floods and a disastrous fire, making these newspapers a most important source.

A new series of articles has started in the *Trenton Magazine*, began in 1924 as the house organ of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce. Titled "Trenton Makes—the World Takes," it features Trenton-made products distributed nationally or internationally.

"An Anthology on Creation—Thomas Edison and Railroads," in *The Lackawanna*, February, 1956, pp. 8, 9.

"Arthur T. Vanderbilt: Order in the Courtroom," by Jerome H. Spingarn, in *Harpers' Magazine*, May 1956, pp. 61-66. Court reform and other accomplishments of New Jersey's chief justice.

"The Autobiography of John Nelson," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, March 1956, pp. 56-57. Brief autobiography of a prominent Marylander found in William Nelson collection.

"Bainbridge Family of New Jersey," by George E. McCracken, in *American Genealogist*, April 1956, pp. 98-109.

"Beautiful St. Rose of Lima; Started by a Legendary Pastor, Short Hills' Only Catholic Church Goes Forward Magnificently under Learned Father John Francis Ryan," by Jacques Park in *Suburban Life*, July 1956, pp. 31-32, 43. History of a church originating in a mission to the French refugees of 1793 from the West Indies.

"A Census—Sets of Signers of the Declaration of Independence," in *Manuscripts,* Spring 1956, pp. 149-52. Includes set bequeathed to N.J.H.S. by the late Louis Bamberger.

"County Cumberland Helped America to Cradle Her Liberty," by Anthony R. Chinnici, in *New Jersey County Government,* February 1956, pp. 11, 12.

"Daniel Brinson of Middlesex County, N.J.," by Lewis D. Cook, in *American Genealogist,* January 1956, pp. 33-36.

"The Delaware and Raritan Canal," by Amos W. Horrocks, fisheries technician, in *New Jersey Outdoors,* April, 1956, pp. 24, 25. Brief history and present conditions.

"A Divided Church: Local History Sketches, No. 1," in *Relics,* October 1955, p. 2, and November 1955, p. 2. St. Mark's A.M.E. Church.

"Dr. John Browne—Friend of Benjamin Franklin," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* January 1956, pp. 1-4.

"The Early History of the Van Name Family," by Elmer G. Van Name, in *Staten Island Historian,* July-Sept. 1953, pp. 19-24.

"Favorite Pioneer Recording Artists: Fred Van Eps," by Jim Walsh, in *Hobbies,* January 1956, p. 31. Somerville banjo player reminisces about phonograph-record-making in Newark and West Orange, 1893-1917. To be continued.

"First Reformed Dutch Church of Raritan, Somerville. . . . Founded 1699," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1956, pp. 99, 102.

"Franklin's Type, Its Study Past and Present," by C. William Miller, in *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, December 1955. Partially based on examination of documents in the New Jersey state archives at Trenton.

"German Street Names in Egg Harbor," by Dieter Cunz, in *American-German Review,* February-March 1956, pp. 27-29. Includes map.

"A Glance at New York in 1697; the Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant," edited by Wayne Andrews, in *New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* January 1956, pp. 55-65. Includes a vivid picture of his travels through Elizabeth to Burlington.

"A Good Impression for Fifty Years," in *New Jersey Business,* June 1956, p. 34. History of the first typesetting business in New Jersey, the Linotype Composition Company, now William Patrick Company, Inc.

"History of the Beesly's Point Hotels," by Mary Jane Corson, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1956, pp. 16 *ff.*

"History of the Medical Profession of Staten Island: Part II, 1800-1900," by Loring McMillen, in *Staten Island Historian,* Jan.-March 1956, pp. 6-8. Includes early New Jersey doctors.

"History of Our Society," in Essex County Dental Society *Bulletin,* April, 1956, pp. 13-17. Part 15 continued from March issue.

"The Huguenots or Early French in New Jersey," by Albert F. Koehler, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1956, pp. 91-96. Part 2, conclusion.

"Industrial Sheet Metal Works, They Give Dust the Air," in *New Jersey Business,* June, 1956, p. 38. Thirty-year-old North Bergen firm, founded in Newark.

"Jenkins' Camden Dispatch, 1853," by Eugene Klein, in *Fifth American Philatelic Congress,* November 24 to 26, 1939, pp. 19, 20.

"Joshua Mersereau," in *Staten Island Historian,* Oct.-Dec. 1951, pp. 27-28.

"Living Autographs," by Neil P. Horn, in *Manuscripts,* pp. 161, 189-92. A Caldwell collector of movies and movie stills of prominent persons.

"Local History Sketch No. 4: The Early Block House," in *Relics,* February 1956, pp. 3, 4. Built in 1697 at the junction of two Indian trails in the Pascack Valley, operated 1723 by Omey Ackerson.

"Local History Sketch No. 5: The Blizzard of 1888—the Big Snow of 1947," in *Relics,* March 1956, pp. 3, 4. Pascack Valley personal reminiscences.

"Local History Sketch No. 6: Readin', 'Riting' an' 'Rithmetic," in *Relics,* April 1956, pp. 3, 4. First schoolhouse in northern Bergen County, built 1808 on Pascack Road.

"Local History Sketches No. 7—The Kissige Tragedy," in *Relics,* May, 1956, pp. 3, 4.

"Lopez, Isaac, Affidavit, 1818, New York, N.Y." in *American Jewish Archives,* January 1956, p. 53. Record of his three-year enlistment in 1777 and service in "Fifth Regiment of the New Jersey Line." Photostat of the original, filed in the National Archives.

"Mettlesome Briton, John Graves Simcoe," by Henry G. Steinmeyer, in *Staten Island Historian,* Apr.-June 1951, pp. 9-11.

"'Medical Doctor' Degrees of New Jersey," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* June 1956, pp. 327-29. See also issue of November 1953 for the history of medical degrees in N.J.

"Metal Trades: Forged in Prosperity—Finished in Stability," in *New Jersey Business,* June 1956, p. 33. Brief assessment of the metal-working industries in New Jersey emphasizes growth and diversity.

"The Mysterious Mr. John Hart of New Jersey" by Mary A. Benjamin, in *The Collector, a Magazine for Autograph and Historical Collectors,* April 1956, pp. 33-37. Authenticating autographs of "The Signer."

"New Jersey, Medicine Chest of the Nation," in *New Jersey Business,* June 1956, pp. 19-27. Special section compounding the history, progress, and outlook of the pharmaceutical industry.

"New Netherland Had Windmills and Fences," by Walter Van Hoesen, in *de Halve Maen,* January 1956, pp. 8, 11.

"The 19th Century German Diary of a New Jersey Geologist," by William J. Chute, in *Journal of*

the Rutgers University Library, December 1955, pp. 17-28. William Kitchell, director of the New Jersey Geological Survey.

"The Ocean City Story," by Bertram M. Darby, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1955, pp. 12-15.

"On Names of Dutch Grandchildren," by George E. McCracken, in *American Genealogist,* April 1956, pp. 97-98.

"Origins of American Glass," by Thomas S. Buechner, in *Antiques,* December 1955, pp. 560-63. Relates American, and New Jersey glass in particular, to examples from the Old World.

"The Pierson Family," by Margaret Irwin McVickar, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1955, pp. 6-11.

"Presbyterian Beginnings in New England and the Middle Colonies," by Clifford M. Drury, in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* March 1956, pp. 19-35.

"The Rev. Daniel Elmer of New England and New Jersey," by George E. McCracken, in *American Genealogist,* April 1956, pp. 88-92. Re-examination of original wills in Trenton, and correction of printed abstracts (Vol. 3).

"Rockaway Church," in *de Halve Maen,* January 1956, p. 9. The 163rd anniversary of church at White House, Hunterdon County.

"Roebling's Wheeling, W.Va., Span Dedicated as National Monument," in *Trenton Magazine,* May 1956, pp. 6, 7, 25.

"Salem, New Jersey, to Salem, Ohio," by J. Donald Strawn, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1956, p. 101. List of migrants, with birth and death dates.

"Staten Island's Du Bois Families," by Charles P. Staubach, in *Staten Island Historian,* Apr.-June 1952, pp. 10, 13-16; Oct.-Dec. 1952, pp. 28, 30-32; Jan.-March 1953, pp. 5-8; April-June 1953, pp. 14-16.

"The Struggle for the Hudson; the British Naval Expedition under Captain Hyde Parker and Captain James Wallace, July 12-August 18, 1776," by Richard J. Koke, in *New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* April 1956, pp. 115-75.

"A Tale of Lands and Buildings," by Kenneth Fisk, in *The Review, Society of Residential Appraisers,* February 1956, pp. 16-21. History of the Wharton Estate and its acquisition by the state, by a senior residential appraiser, with Feist and Feist, Newark.

"A Tea Party at Greenwich," by Joseph S. Sickler, in *New Jersey County Government,* February 1956, p. 20.

"Those Gizzard Balls," in *Relics,* March 1956, p. 2. Evidence of dinosaurs found in Woodcliff Lake Borough, Bergen County.

"Three Gravestones in Bordentown, N.J.: Luttrel, Murat, Fraser," by John I. Coddington, in *American Genealogist,* April 1956, pp. 83-84.

"When a Wig-Wag Signalled the High-Sign," by Henry H. Bisbee, in *New Jersey Business,* April 1956, pp. 16, 43. Private signal telegraph.

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